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Selections

FROM

Sanskrit Inscriptions

Vol. I, Part II.

(From 2nd cent. to 8th cent. A D)

Introductory, Historical and Literary Notes
and a complete Translation into English

Containing also portions from Dr G Bühler's essay on
'Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry

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Price Rs Three.

PREFACE

These Notes on the fifteen selected inscriptions from the 2nd cent to the 9th cent. A. D. contained in the First Part (of Vol I) of my Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions have been prepared so as to demonstrate both the literary and the historical value of the inscriptions. They will therefore be found useful as well to the student of Sanskrit Literature, who wants to study the inscriptions merely as specimens of Sanskrit *Kavya*, as to one who seeks to find in them items of useful information for his study of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In compiling them I have derived very valuable help from the writings of all those scholars who had once edited the inscriptions critically and who had written notes to elucidate several points specially historical, connected with them. I express here my gratitude to them.

In the Appendix I have given important portions from the late Dr G. Buhler's very valuable essay on ' The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry ' which was originally published in a German periodical in 1889 and whose English translation by the late Dr. V. S. Ghatge was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLII, 1913. The essay deserves to be read by those who want to know how inscriptions are useful for the history of Sanskrit Literature and how they constitute not a small and unimportant portion of the already vast Sanskrit Literature. My sincere thanks are due to the Joint Editors of the *Indian Antiquary*, specially to the late Mr S. M. Edwardes, for allowing me to copy the essay from the Journal.

No. 1

Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradaman.

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on the western side near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the edicts of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka as well as an inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta about a mile and a half to the east of the town of Junagadh in Kathiawad and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the famous mountain Girnar. It contains twenty lines of varying length of well engraved writing which covers a space of about 11·1" broad by 5·5" high. Of these only the four last lines are fully preserved, while each of the remaining lines has suffered considerable damage.

The inscription was first brought to light by Col. Tod in 1832 in the *J A S B.* Vol VII p 338. After that several scholars edited it in various journals. The latest edition accompanied by an excellent facsimile was published in the *Eph Ind* Vol VIII p 36 ff by Dr. Kielhorn. See No 965 of Luder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the earliest times in the App of *Eph Ind* Vol X.

The inscription is a non-sectarian one, its immediate object being to record the rebuilding of the lake Sudarśana in the reign of the powerful Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman. The contents of the record can be thus summarised—

The lake Sudarśana situated at a short distance from Girinagara, was originally constructed under orders of the Maurya (emperor) Chandragupta by his provincial governor Vaiśya Pushyagupta, and was completed under orders of the

Maurya (emperor) **Aśoka** by his governor, the **Yavana King Tushāspa**. But it was destroyed by the excessively swollen floods of the **Suvarnasikatā**, **Palāśinī** and other streams of the mount **Ūrjayat** on the first of the dark half of **Mārgaśīrsha** in the seventy second year of the king, the **Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman**, who was the son of the **Kshatrapa Jayadāman** and son's son of **Svāmī Chashtana** and who was a very great king being lord of the eastern and western **Ākarāvāntī**, the **Anūpa** country, **Ānarta**, **Surāshtra**, **Śvabhra**, **Maru**, **Kachchha**, **Sindhu**, **Sauvīra**, **Kukura**, **Aparānta**, **Nishāda** and other territories gained by his own valour, and had destroyed the **Yaudheyas** and had completely vanquished **Sātakarni**, the lord of **Dakshināpatha** and had himself acquired the name of **Mahākshatrapa**, and who was also a kind, learned and accomplished man. He carried out the work of repairing the dam of the lake through his viceroy of **Ānarta** and **Surāshtra**, named **Suvisakha**, the son of **Kulaiva**, a **Pahlava**, spending a large amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people by taxes, forced labour etc. The new dam of the lake was three times as strong in breadth, length and height as the destroyed one and the lake was provided with conduits, drains and means to guard against waste water.

Poetical Importance of the inscription—The whole of the inscription is in Sanskrit prose. It does not give the name of the author. But there can be no doubt that the poet was of a very high order. The piece is written in the **Kāvya** style and possesses the characteristics of the **Vaidarbhi riti** as laid down by **Dandin** in his **Kāvyaadarśa**.

Looking at the language in general of the inscription, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, **वृत्ते** in line 5 and **आसीत्** in line 13, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs viz.,

in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another असीत् in line 15 p 2 and perhaps one verb in line 16. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand—and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence.

The author's disposition of his subject matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman, of the lake Sudaršana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words 'this lake Sudaršana' with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition. It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradaman. All the water having escaped, the lake, instead of being 'Sudaršana' became 'durdaršana'. The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandragupta and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka. It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (sudarśanātara) by Rudradaman, under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suvisakha. From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description and a record of the exploits, of the Mahakshatrapa by whom it was accomplished. The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short though historically important sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in a piece

of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Buhler has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterisation of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word Sudarśana the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an उपमा the so-called अर्थलेश्वर may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of शब्दालंकार which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words as e.g. in प्रदरणवितरण, समग्राणां ...विधयाणां विपयाणां, अविधेयानां यौधेयानां, नाम्ना...दम्ना.....रुद्रदम्ना, रुक्तेन दाम्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्येणाहायेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रतिष्ठितप्रगालेपरी बाह्मीदन्धियानं, (Kielhorn).

The literary merits of this inscription are shown in details by Dr. Buhler in his German essay, which is translated into English by Dr. V. S. Ghatge and published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912. The portion of his essay dealing with this inscription is copied below in App. I for the convenience of readers.

Historical importance—The inscription is of very great historical importance. We know from it that the great Maurya emperors Chandragupta and Aśoka, were particular in undertaking irrigation works in so distant a country from their capital as that of Kathiawad. The inscription gives us more information regarding Rudradāman than is available for any of the other Kshatrapa kings. It enumerates the names of several nations of which Rudradāman was an overlord. They are Ākarāvanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta and Nishāda. These comprise a country roughly from Bhilsā in the east to Sindh in the west and from Abu in the north to the North Komkana in the south including the peninsulas of Cutch

and Kathiawad. The inscription also mentions two wars waged by Rudradaman one with the Vaudheyas and the other with Satikarni lord of Dakshinapatha.

The Kshatrapa family which was founded by Chastana according to some scholars the founder of the Śaka era-ruled long from 78 A D to about 400 A D, Twenty eight kings seem to have ruled in it. At one time they seem to have held Malva, Rājaputana, Cutch, Kathiawad, Gujarat and even a portion of the Deccan. According to Ptolemy Chastana was ruling at Ujjain which seems to be the capital of the early Kshatrapas. In this inscription Suvisakha is said to have been appointed to govern Anartha and Surashtra by Rudradaman which also suggests that Rudradaman's capital was outside Kathiawad probably at Ujjain. A few inscriptions and a very large number of coins are found of this family, which enable us to prepare their geneology (See Rapson's *Catalogue of coins of the Andhras Kshatrapas etc.*,) though nothing is known regarding them from either Indian or foreign literary sources. Besides the present one five more inscriptions are found in Cutch of Rudradaman four of which give the year 52 for his reign.

Date of the inscription—It is not known when the inscription was engraved but it is stated that the dam of the Sudarsana lake was burst in the month Margashirsha of the year 72 of the king Rudradaman which is commonly supposed to refer to the Śaka era (see J R A S 1899 p 365 and Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* p 35) and thus corresponds to November 150 A D. It may be noted that the dam was not burst at the advent of rainy season as it had been in the reign of Skandagupta. See No 4 below v 26. The rebuilding of the dam which must have been commenced after sometime as there was some difference of opinion among the ministers as to the feasibility of the scheme was completed without the interval of a long time अनतिनद्धता कालेन (l 23 p 2)

It must have taken about a year or two. The restoration of the same dam of the lake was made again by Skandagupta's viceroy in the period of two months (see v. 35 of No 4 below). The dimensions of the breach as mentioned in the text were much bigger than those of the later breach and must have occupied the rebuilders one or two seasons after the work was taken in hand, probably after the rains of the year 151 A. D. We may therefore suppose that the dam was repaired and the inscription was set up in the year 152 or 153 A. D.

Notes—**£. 1, तटाक्षं**—The word occurs in the same form in No 4 below. **गिरिनगर**—'the hill city' is the earlier name of the town of Junagadh or its ancient representative. **निःसन्धिवद्दृढ**—strong because (it was) constructed without joints i.e. with imperceptible joints. It is well known that in ancient India the strength of masonry depended on the massive blocks laid with very fine joints. **प्रणाली** conduit, water-course. In the original text of the inscription the word is spelt as **प्रणाली**, (once it is spelt as **प्रणाली**). Similarly are spelt the words **पाळी** and **पळ** occurring below in this inscription. The occurrence of the Dravidian **ळ** which is a feature of modern Gujarati, as distinguished from North Indian Vernaculars, can thus be traced to this early period. **परीवाह**—drain, **मृदाविधानं**—According to Drs. Bhagavanlal Indraji and Buhlar **मृद** is synonymous with **मोमूत्ररु** and the expression means ' the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of bovine urine, ' bouke phedor. ' But Dr. Kielhorn differing from them says that the word **मृदविधानं** really forms part of the *baṃurīhi* compound commencing with **सुप्रतिविहित** and therefore either **मृद** by itself or **मृदविधानं** must denote something that was provided for the lake just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In his opinion **मृद** is identical with the Pāli **मोह** meaning 'excrements or dirt, foul matter' generally: **मृद** is used in this sense in the *Lalitavistara* e.g. in **मृदोर्गिरि** a 'dunghill.' Now since foul matter

would not have been provided for the lake that which was so provided must be denoted by *सौविधान* and this word therefore means 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities'. By the context *विधान* here as elsewhere becomes equivalent to *प्रतिहार*, *प्रतिक्रिया* *सुसंविहित*—well furnished with *महाक्षणप*—The epithet *क्षत्रप* or *महाक्षत्रप* was used in a particular period of the ancient Indian history by the governors of the Śaka kings, who subsequently formed independent kingdoms and became Hinduised. The title *Kshatrapa* appears nowhere as a title of any king or royal officer within the whole range of Sanskrit literature or indeed on any inscription or coin of any Indian dynasty except the so called *Kshatrapa* families. According to the Sanskrit lexicography it seems to mean 'one who protects the kshatriya caste' *क्षत्रं पालीति क्षत्रपः*; but it is originally not a Sanskrit word. It is a Sanskritised form of the Persian word *Satrapa* meaning a governor (See *Bom Gaz* Vol. I.1 p. 21) *सुगृहीतनाम*—Meaning 'the mention of whose name brings purity' was an epithet many times applied in old times to royal or noble personages both living and deceased. It occurs often in *हर्षचरित* *गुरुभिरम्बरतनाम*—Whose name is repeated by the worthy. It is a *सापेक्ष* compound *गुरुभ्यस्तनाम*. This seems a somewhat stronger expression than *सुगृहीतनाम*. The use of *अभ्यस्* and the statement that Rudradaman's name was repeated by *गुरु*s at once suggest the notion that for these revered personages the name was like another Veda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious fruit. With this expression compare *गुरुभिरुक्तिनामधय* (स्वप्न-वासरः I) *रुद्रदाम्नो वषट्सप्ततितम मार्गशीर्षबहुल प्रतिपदाया*—Though the expression literally means 'in the 72nd year of Rudradaman himself it is to be understood as 'in the reign of'. The year is of the era used by Rudradaman [and the *Kshatrapa*s generally], which is taken by many scholars to be the Śaka era. Taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year the Christian equivalent of the date would be either 18th

October or more probably the 16th November, 150 A. D. एकर्णवभूतायां etc.—For the notion of the earth's 'being converted into one ocean compare e. g. *Ramāyana* V. 49. 20. (अयं ह्युत्सहते क्रुद्धः कर्तुं नेकार्णवं जगत्) ऊर्जयत्—This denotes the mountain now called Girnār. See notes in No. 4 below. सुवर्णसिकता—is a small perennial stream now called सोनरेखा. See notes in No. 4 below पलाशिनी.—This name is not preserved in these days. ई. 11, अष्टालक—an upper story. उपतल्प—Dr. Bhagavanlal means by it 'pieces of the neighbouring ground' Prof. Buhler interprets as 'pinnacles of temples.' Dr. Kielhorn supposes that the words अष्टालकोपतल्प of the text are identical in sense with तरपाट्ट in *Raghu* XVI, 11 (विशीर्ण-तल्पाट्टशतं निवेशः)—तल्प meaning 'a room on the top of a house' or 'upper story'. उच्छ्रय—Drs Bhagavanlal and Buhler mean by it 'pillars of victory.' But Dr. Kielhorn thinks that the whole word शरणोच्छ्रय i. e. उच्छ्रयशरण means 'any raised place serving as shelter.' It will be seen that the word उच्छ्रय 'elevation' is in contrast with the word दिग्धंसिन् immediately following it. युगनिधन i. e. युगान्त of a speed furious as at the time of the destruction of the 'world'. ई. 15, मरुधन्व—a waterless tract or sandy desert. सुदर्शन became दुर्दर्शन cf v. 31 in No 4 below. मौर्यस्व—The Maurya family in which the great emperors Chandragupta and Aśoka were born is generally said to be a low Śūdra family deriving its name from a woman named Mūrā. According to Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhari (*Political History of Ancient India*) the Moriyas (Mauryas) were the ruling Kshatriya clan of Pipphalivana (near Nēpāl) in ancient times. They were among the tribes, who claimed a share of Buddha's relics on his death. चन्द्रगुप्तस्व—He was the 'first great emperor of India of the historical period. He got the empire by murdering the Nanda emperor of Magadha with the help of Chanakya, the famous author of the immortal Arthasāstra and held it with rare ability from 332 B. C. to

297 B C. राष्ट्रियेण—The word seems to have been used here in its etymological sense: i.e. one who is appointed to rule a province or district. (राष्ट्रधिकृत). It is found used in some Sanskrit plays in its technical meaning 'a king's brother-in-law'. Some scholars have proposed that meaning in the present case. But it seems better to take the word in its etymological sense. According to Dr Hemachandra Raychaudhary (*Opt. cit.*) the epithet is equivalent to imperial high commissioner. He suggests that the Rāshtriya who is not mentioned either in the Arthashastra or in Aśoka's edicts was probably identical with the Rashtrapala who drew the same salary as Kumāra or princely viceroy of royal blood. वैश्येन—The Vāśyas according to Varahamihira are a people of the western division (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXII p 192). अशोकस्य—The great Buddhist emperor who was the son of Bindusara and grandson of the great Chandragupta. He ruled from about 274 to 237 B C. कृते—The reading is conjectural. यवनराजेन तुपास्फन—He must have been some Chief of Persian descent as the name indicates. But some scholars consider him to have been a Greek. P. 2, 1, 4, अधिष्ठय—'after having assumed the Government. अधि+ष्ठा=to govern. The same meaning is to be understood in the expressions अधिष्ठान and अधितिष्ठता. सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृत्तेन—Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Ant.* 1918, 154) supposes that this expression indicates that Rudradaman had regained the kingdom of Malwa and Kathiawad which was wrested from his father or grandfather by Gautamiputra Satavahana. This is also proved by the boast of Rudradaman that the title of Mahakshatrapa was acquired by himself and was not inherited. In this inscription he is said to be the lord of Aparānta, Surashtra, Kukura and Aparanta the countries which were formerly in the possession of Gautamiputra Śrī Satavahana as the Nasik inscription (*Ep. Ind.* VIII p 60, *Luders List* No 1123) shows. L 4 अयत्र रुद्रामेष्टु—अन्यत्र generally governs an ablative but the locative also is not wrong. अन्यत्र

अनन्त—According to Rapson this term denotes the country on the bank of the Sabaramati (Skt Śvabhramati) See also *Ind Ant* VII 259 If this is right the term denotes northern Gujarat Then Anartta and Surashtra must mean northern and southern Kathiawad **मरु**—Marwād **कच्छ**—Modern Cutch **सिन्धु**—Sindh **सौवीर**—It may be either the south-east Sindh or the Sindh bordering on the desert Some take **सिन्धुसौवीर** as one word denoting the country comprising of Sindh and Multan districts **बुकर**—According to Sir R G Bhandarkar it is identical with that portion of Rajaputana which is called *Kin-che-lo* by Hsien Tsing (*E H D* 17, n 4) According to Dr Bhagavanlal Indraji it denotes "probably part of East Rajputana" (*Bom Gaz* I. i. 36, n 7) But according to Prof. D R Bhandarkar it is probably modern Gujarat as it is associated with Aparanta in the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamiputra and in this inscription (*Ind Ant* 1918 p 150) R B Gaurishankar Ojha suggests that it may represent the Kukaresvara Mahal of the Holkar State, which is in the north-east of Mandisor in C. I **अपरान्त**—The word literally means the Western End Ptolemy, who was contemporaneous with Gautamiputra and Pulumavi divides Ariake (Aparantike—Aparanta) into four sections, two on the sea-board and two situated inland Of those on the sea-coast the northern corresponded to the Thana and Kolaba Districts and the southern to the Ratnagiri and North Kanara Districts Of the inland parts the northern was very nearly coincident with the country watered by the upper Godavari and the southern included the Kanarese-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency. (D R Bhandarkar *Ind Ant* 1918 p 150) The *Mahabharata* Adi p 218) and the *Markandeya P* (37th Chap) also include in Aparanta this whole tract But the portion of Aparanta subject to Rudradaman seems to have been the country further north between the Mahi and the Damanganga as the time the north Konkana was subject to the Andhras **निषाद**—probably

the territories of the Vindhya mountains inhabited by Nishādas i. e. wild tribes such as the Bhils. The Nishādas were an aboriginal race, a forest people, and were scattered all over Northern and Central India (See Pargitar, *Markandeya Purana* pp. 360-61). L. 10, पत्न्या—In the original the form used is पत्नि. Similarly the Prākṛit form वीशदुत्तराणे is used above, P. 1, l. 14, in the original. L. 11, यौधेयानां—These were known as a warlike race from the earliest times and are mentioned as warriors by Pāṇini (V. iii. 117). Their habitat was the tract round the Bahawalpur State. Like the Mālavas these appear to have had a democratic constitution. Several round copper coins bearing the legend यौधेयगणस्य जय in Gupta characters of the 3rd cent- A.D. have been found in N. W. Provinces. *Cunningham's Coins of Anc. Ind.*) This tribe is also mentioned as having been defeated by Samudragupta (No. 3 below) A fragmentary inscription of a Yaudheya King probably of the 3rd cent. is found at Bijayagadh in Bharatpur State in Rajaputana (*F. G. I.* No. 58). दक्षिणापथ—lit. the path of the south was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous technical expression for Northern India was Uttarāpatha, which is found used in some inscriptions (*F.G.I.* p. 13. n. 5). But in this inscription Āryāvarta is the name used for Northern India, and it is the more common one. सातकर्णेः—This must be Gautamiputra Sātakarni, according to Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar but Yajñaśri Sātakarni according to Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji (see below). निर्व्याजं—Without any pretext i. e. in a fair fight; or it may mean completely. सम्बन्धाविदूरतया—From the Kanheri inscription it is seen that the wife of Vāsishthiputra Sātakarni was the daughter of Rudradāman. Sātakarni was thus the son-in-law of Rudradāman. Now Vāsishthiputra was the son of Gautamiputra. Sātakarni's connection with Rudradāman was thus by no means intimate and can be described as ' not remote '. (D. R. Bhandarkar *Ind. Ant.* 1918 p. 155). Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji on the other hand thinks

(*Bom Gaz* I : 38) that Yajñaśrī Satakarṇi was the contemporary of Rudradaman and that he was through his mother (who was a Mahakshatrapa's grand-daughter) related with Rudradaman. According to Mr Smith (*E H I* IIIrd ed p 211) Vasisthapuṭhī Śrī Pulumayī was the son-in-law of Rudradaman and he was himself defeated twice by his father-in-law. According to Prof Dubreuil (*Ant. Hist. Decr* p 43) Vasisthipuṭrī Śrī Śrī Satakarṇi was the Mahakshatrapa's son-in-law and was defeated twice.

अष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन—cf अनेकभद्रराज्ये तस्य राजवंशप्रतिष्ठापन in No. 3

हस्तोच्छ्रय etc.—Some scholars suppose by this epithet that Rudradaman made many religious gifts. But Dr Kielhorn says that the expression 'the raising of the hand' is not found used where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterises the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is *moistened* by the water poured into the hand of the donee. cf. Kadambari p 5 अनवरतप्रवृत्तदानार्दीकृतकरः, *Gupla inscr* p 175, प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविद' etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or *raising the pitcher* from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient. Ramayana II 118 50 अत्र तत्र रामाय पित्रा ..उद्यता दातुमुद्यम्य जलभाजनमुत्तमम्। In the present case therefore the expression हस्तोच्छ्रय instead of meaning to convey the idea of donation should better be taken in the sense of the dispensation of justice'. For according to Manu (VIII 2) a king when investigating cases of law should do so seated or standing 'raising his right hand' (पाणिमुद्यम्य दक्षिण). Rudradaman must have earned the strong attachment of Dharma : i.e. Justice by the raising of his right hand : i.e. by the proper dispensation of justice.

शब्दार्थः—This expression may be understood to denote two sciences शब्द (i.e. शब्दविद्या or grammar) and अर्थ (i.e. अर्थविद्या or 'science of polity' अर्थशास्त्र). Or if taken as one word it may denote only one science viz. the science of words and their

meanings i. e. grammar including lexicography. The word is many times found used in the latter sense. e. g. शब्दायन्दाय-
 लोचनः कविः Fleet Gupta Inscr. p. 35. पारणचारणविज्ञान—reading
 remembering and perfectly knowing. प्रयोग—practice.
 L. 15, तुरग etc.—cf. Rāmāyana I. 18-27. गजस्कन्धेऽथ वृष्टे च
 रथचर्यासु सम्मतः । The epithet means that by his skill in the
 management of horses etc. he rendered futile the acts of
 quickness etc. of opponents. चर्या management नियुद्ध—बा युद्ध
 close fight, personal fight. स्थूललक्ष—bounteous. cf. Halāyudha
 II.210 स्थूललक्षो बहुव्ययी generous. शुल्क—a toll. विव्यन्दमान—overflowed.
 L. 18, स्फुट...मधुर...after यद्य the words काव्यविधानप्रशङ्गेन are
 restored by Dr. Buhler. The epithet means something like
 'who is skilled in producing compositions in'. The adjectives
 स्फुट etc. in the text have probably a reference to certain rules
 of Sanskrit Poetics. स्फुट, मधुर and कान्त indicate the qualities
 प्रसाद, माधुर्य and कान्ति of Dandin's Kāvyaadarśa (I. 45, 51 and 85)
 Thus स्फुट means 'clear', which denotes Dandin's *Arthavyakli*
 that depends on author's giving verbal expression to his
 thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. मधुर 'sweet'
 or 'full of sentiment', and कान्त 'lovely'. Similarly शब्दसमय
 is synonymous with बह्व्याय in Kāvyaadarśa I. 75. शब्दसमयोद्धार
 means 'grand through the conventional use of words (Buhler).
 The poet means by this expression that language in which are
 used proverbial words and attributes commended by poets.
 रघु means 'pleasing', it denotes Dandin's *prasāda*. Mr. K.G.
 Śankar suggests that it means 'simple or easy'. The expres-
 sion does not mean 'short' as is translated by some. वित्त
 means 'exciting wonder', which probably denotes 'ojas' force.
 L. 20, स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षत्रपनाम्ना—This epithet indicates that
 Rudradaman had regained the title of Mahākshatrapa which
 belonged to his grandfather Chashtana but not to his father
 Jayadaman. प्रणयक्रिया—Dr. Bhagavanlal means by it a kind

of tax like the modern ' श्रीतिदान '. But Dr Kielhorn suggests that the expression may denote ' offerings ' or contributions, which nominally are voluntary but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody. Mr K G Sankar suggests that it means ' benevolences in the technical sense ' पौरजानपद जन- This seems to be a *pada* of an ordinary Sloka. The same expression is many times found used in the Ramayana. It may be noted that in the inscription there are a number of words which occur often in epic poetry अनुत्साह—i.e. अनर्थम् उत्साह a futile or impossible task प्रत्यारवातारम्—This is the subject of अनुष्ठिन, that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out' P. 3, L. 1 हा हा भूतासु cf. वयं यन ना खलु सर्वतो जना etc in v 30 of No. 4 below पङ्कजेन—Some writers look upon the Pahlava or Pallavas as foreigners Persians or Parthians. The trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the W Indian seaboard must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlavas who were gradually converted to Buddhism. But others are of opinion that they are an indigenous class formed in Southern India. Early records connect the Pallavas with the country in Northern India which was ruled by the kings of the Āndhra dynasty. When subsequently they were expelled by the Āndhrabhrityas they set out to seek their fortune and settled near Conjeeveram where they founded a glorious dynasty, (*Historical sketches of the Deccan* p 15 ff.) See also the note in No. 12 below.

Translation

This lake Sudarśana from Girinagara even so well joined in construction as to rival the spur of a mountain, with all rows its embankments strong in breadth length and height constructed without gaps and made of stone clay furnished with a natural dam formed by . . . and with well provided conduits drains and means to guard against foul matter, three

sections.....by.....and by favourable conditions in a highly prosperous condition.

This same (lake)—on the first day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the seventy-second—72nd—year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of the king, the Kshatrapa Jayadāman, (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Lord Chashtana the taking of whose name is auspicious,....when by the clouds pouring with rain the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean, by the excessively swollen floods of the Suvarnasikātā, Palāśinī and other streams of mount Ūrjayat the dam.....though proper precautions (were taken), the water churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury as at the time of the end of the world, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter—scattered, broke to pieces, (tore apart)—with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open down to the bottom of the river'—

By a breach, four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water flowed out, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, (became) extremely ugly (to look at).

.....for the sake of.....ordered to be made by the Valsya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Chandragupta, adorned with conduits for Aśoka, the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushaspha, while governing and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, *constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) seen in that breach, the extensive dam.....*

.....he who, ever since he was in the womb was characterised by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them ; who made, and is true to, the vow to

the last breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except
 in battles who (showed) compassion . not
 failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to
 face who grants protection of life to people repairing to him
 of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before
 him who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western
 Ākaravanti the Anupa country Ānarta Surashtra, Śvabhra
 Maru Kachchha Sindhu Sauvira Kukura Aparanta,
 Nishada and other territories gained by his own valour the
 towns marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by
 robbers snakes wild beasts diseases and the like,
 where all subjects are attached to him (and) where
 through his might the objects of [religion] wealth and
 pleasure (are duly attained) who by force destroyed the
 Yaudheyas who were loath to submit rendered proud as
 they were by having manifested their title of heroes 'among
 all Kshatriyas who earned fame because he in spite of hav-
 ing twice in fair fight completely defeated Satakarni the lord
 of Dakshinapatha on account of the nearness of their connec-
 tion did not destroy him who (obtained) victory
 who reinstates deposed kings who by the right raising of his
 hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma who has
 attained wide fame by studying and remembering by the
 knowledge and practice of grammar music logic and other
 great sciences who the management of horses
 elephants and chariots (the use of) sword and shield pugili-
 stic combat and other the acts of quickness and
 efficiency of opposing forces who day by day is in the habit
 of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespect-
 ful treatment who is bounteous whose treasure by the tribute
 tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an
 accumulation of gold silver diamonds beryl stones and
 (other) precious things who prose and
 verse, which are clearly agreeable sweet charming beautiful
 excelling by the proper use of words and adorned , whose

beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs, such as (auspicious) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour vigour and strength, who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa ; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *swayamvaras* of kings' daughters,—he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to.....cows and Brāhmanas, for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection—by (the expenditure of) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length..... (on) all (banks).....(and so) had (this lake) made (even) more beautiful to look at.

When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (regarded as) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (of the work), (and) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting (the work) was carried out by the minister Suvīśākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the King in this government to rule the whole of *Ānarta* and *Surāshtra*, (a minister) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (of the people), who was able, patient, not arrogant, upright (and) not to be bribed, (and) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

No 2.

Meharauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra.

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on a tapering iron pillar 16 in diameter at the base and 12 at the top and 23 ft 8 inches high standing near the Kutub Minar in the village Meharauli nine miles south of Delhi. The pillar would appear to have been erected originally as a standard to support an image of Garuda in front of a temple of Vishnu. It is an interesting feature as affording evidence of the capacity of Hindu civilization in the 4th cent A D to weld malleable iron on so ambitious a scale (*Page Guide to the Qutb Delhi*). The inscription contains six lines of beautiful writing. It was first published by James Prinsep in 1834 in *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal* Vol III p 494. Its latest edition by Dr Fleet is published in his *Gupta Inscriptions*.

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra. It is a Vaishnava inscription its object being to record the creation of the pillar which is called a *Dhvaja* of the god Vishnu on a hill called Vishnupada by the king who successfully invaded the Vanga countries, crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu conquered the Valhikas and had invaded as far as the southern ocean.

The poetical importance—The inscription which consists of three verses in the Śardulavikṛitā metre is a short piece of beautiful poetry. The simile used in v 2 is very striking. The following *alankaras* deserve to be specially marked. एकदशविंति रूपक v 1, 1 2 असंगति in v 2 1 2 and तद्वरे धारास in 1 4

Historical importance—No information is given in the record about the lineage or the date of the king Chandra in our inscription. This has raised a controversy among scholars about the identity of the king that has not yet ended. There are three sets of opinion, one favouring the identification of this king with Chandragupta I, the first *mahārāja dhīrāja* of the early Gupta dynasty, the other identifying him with Chandravarman, son of Simhavarman, and grandson of Jayavarman, king of Pushkarana (modern Polkharna in Jodhpur State) mentioned in the Susrunia inscription and the third identifying him with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The followers of the third theory—one of them is my friend Mr. K. G. Śankar—are few. They maintain that the description of the very wide conquests suits only in the case of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, who ruled no doubt upto the ocean. V. A. Smith had first held this view (*J. R. A. S.* 1897 p.) but later he was converted to the second theory. (*E. H. I.* 1914 p. 290). The strongest argument against this theory is that the characters in the inscription are a little earlier than those in the inscriptions of Chandragupta II. The inscription was moreover engraved after the death of the king Chandra mentioned in it.

The real controversy therefore exists between scholars holding the first two opinions. Fleet, Radhagovind Basak and Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar are of the first opinion; while M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, V. A. Smith and R. D. Banerji hold the second opinion. Those scholars who identify Chandra with Chandragupta I argue as follows—

Chandra carved sole supreme sovereignty (एकाधिपत्ये) in the world by means of his own arms, and enjoyed it for a long time and led his arms of conquest to the distant countries of Vanga in the east and to the country washed by the mouth of the Indus in the west and also towards the south. This statement applies more to an early Gupta ruler

of the fourth century than to any local king of any of the small states then ruling independently in N. India. So it is very likely that Samudregupta's father Chandragupta I, whom we know to have been the first *Mahārājādhirāja* of the Gupta line tried to extend the empire by making the conquests of Bengal, the Panjab, and also probably of the south. It is for this reason that we do not find any mention of the conquest of Bengal in Samudragupta's Allahabad *prāsaśi*. Dr. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, who has recently discussed this point at some length in *Journ. Ind. Hist.* Vol VI, pt II, University Supplement, Studies in Gupta History, p 14 ff, is a strong supporter of this theory.

Scholars who identify Chandra with Chandravarman reply to this argument in the following way—

Though it is true that Chandragupta was the first *Mahārājādhirāja* of the Gupta dynasty the existing evidence in both the epigraphic and numismatic fields cannot prove that Chandragupta I had led an expedition into the North-West or the south or that Bengal was included in his kingdom. The rigid silence of the Allahabad *prāsaśi* of Samudragupta lead us to suppose that Chandragupta did not campaign. The *prāsaśi* clearly indicates that Samudragupta was the first to make the wide conquests described in it. We have reason to believe that the kingdom of Magadha was acknowledged as the paramount power in India only during the time of Samudragupta and that the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* was probably bestowed on Chandragupta I by his descendants. The Guptas are mentioned in the *puranas* as reigning over the country comprised within Prayaga, Sāketa, and Magadha. This was the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta and it was extended by the conquests of his son Samudragupta. On the contrary we have evidence of the possession of a part at least of Bengal by Chandravarman in the Susunia rock inscription of Chandravarman son of Simhavarman.

king of Pushkarana (Ep. Ind. vol. XIII p 133). The inscription proves that a king named Chandravarman from Pushkarana (modern Pokharna in Jodhapur State) had come as far as W. Bengal and left his mark on the hill. This is just in keeping with the statement in the Meharauli inscription that Chandra had defeated a combination of his enemies in the Vanga countries. According to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali the king Chandravarman mentioned in the inscription of Samāchāradeva (Ep. Ind. XVIII p. 86) who built a big fort in Bengal is to be identified with king Chandra of the Meharauli inscription.

Another point is that Chandra in the Meharauli inscription is said to have enjoyed the suzerainty acquired with his own arm for a long time (प्राप्तेन स्वमुजाजितं च मुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं श्रितौ) While there is a consensus of opinion among Orientalists for assigning a very short reign of ten or at the most fifteen years to Chandragupta I.

A third point in favour of the identification of Chandra with Chandravarman is that both the inscriptions are Vaishnava. King Chandra had raised a staff of Vishnu on the Vishnupada hill, while Chandravarman had incised the wheel of Vishnu on the Susunia hill.

Date of the inscription—The inscription is not dated but we can assign it roughly to 330 A. D. sometime before Samudragupta ascended the throne and made his wide conquests. The date cannot be much changed even if we identify our Chandra with Chandragupta, which seems to be more probably.

Notes—वङ्गेषु—in the Vangas i. e. in the Vanga country. In Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe. The Vanga country is undoubtedly the eastern Bengal of modern times. खड्गेन etc. i. e. the sword cuts on his arms remained the emblems of his fame as victor cf. व्रणशतं क....वर्षेणः in No. 3 below.

वाह्लिका —Vahlīkas i.e. the Vahlīka country Vahlīka (also Bahlika, usually spelt as Vahlīka or Vahlīka) is explained as the ancient form of modern Balkh. It has however been pointed out that this rendering cannot well be applied to Chandra's exploits and that the tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Baluchistan. This conclusion is indeed unavoidable if we adopt the above rendering of the passage which says that Chandra conquered the Vahlīkas 'after having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu i.e. the Indus.' The *Mahabharata* (Bhishma 9.17 and Karna ch. 37.38) however, locates them in the Panjab on the Sindhu. A dynasty of three Bahlika rulers in the region of Mahismati on the Narmada is located by the *Puranas*. One of the three divisions of the Śūrasena Prakrit is named Bahlika which was spoken somewhere between Malva and eastern Panjab. From all this it seems that the Bahlihas in our record should be looked for within the frontiers of India without going so far out as Balkh in a portion of India which would necessitate the crossing of the seven mouths of the Indus and Sindhu is such a region (Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar *op cit* p. 15) सिन्धो सह मुखानि—Seven mouths of the Indus. Dr Vogel (Memoir of the Arch. Surv. of India No. 22 p. 44) suggests the expression may also indicate the *sapta sindhu-jah* of the Rīgveda i.e. the river Indus and its tributaries. The term *mukha* would then have to be taken in the sense not of 'the mouth of the river' but rather in that of 'a riverhead' यस्याद्यापि etc.—the southern ocean is even today i.e. even after his death being perfumed by the breeze of his prowess i.e. who proceeded towards the South for making conquests सूर्या...क्षितौ—What is meant to be said here is that Chandra removed his physical body from the earth but lived in it in fame, and that is what expressed by his giving up the earth only to go on to another world to live in. While therefore he may be regarded as having left the earth which he conquered, his fame did not leave it, but

found a permanent home here. शापितस्य etc., The meaning is that like the great forest fire which, having completely burnt the forest out and subsided, lay covered over with ashes, so also the fire of his valour, though it might seem extinguished, having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, still remains dormant in the recollection of those that had suffered from it, as the forest fire itself. (Dr. Aiyangar). सुचिरं — According to Dr. Aiyangar it denotes ' long continued efforts ' in acquiring the empire. Chandragupta I had to undertake a long war against the Vakatakas whose power was greatly rising in the west, against the Bāhlikas probably the kinsmen of the Kshatrapas for expanding his empire. एकाधिराज्यं—The condition of being the sole Adhirāja. Adhirāja lit. supreme king denotes the same thing as mahārāja भावेन—According to some Paleographers the correct reading of the text is धावेन and not भावेन. Some scholars take धावे as the proper name of the king called Chandra. Dr. Aiyangar takes धावे to mean ' pure minded ' as an adjective of भूमिपति. विष्णुपदे गिरौ— On a hill called Vishnupada i. e. (the hill marked with footprints of Vishnu. The hill is probably to be identified with that part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands. (F. G. I. p 140.) ध्वजः— cf ध्वजस्तम्भ ' flag-staff ' used in some other inscriptions. The surmounting figure on the column must have been Garuda, the vehicle as well as the ensign of Vishnu.

Translation.

V-I, He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him), he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu the Vāhlikas were conquered,—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed ;—

V, 2, He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth though, he the king, as if wearied, has left this earth and has gone to the other world moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame, —

V, 3, By him, the king—who attained sole supreme sovereignty on the earth acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for very long time , (and) who, having the name of Chandra, possessed a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon—having with devotion fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine, was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada

No. 3.

Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupts.

General Remarks—This inscription of exceptional importance was first published in 1834 in the J. A S B Vol III p 118 ff It was last edited with a facsimile by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 1 ff It is engraved on a round monolith sandstone column, thirty five feet in height at present standing inside the Allahabad fort But there is reason to believe that it originally belonged to an ancient place called Kauśambi, modern Kosam, twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad For the column contains an edict of Aśoka addressed to the governors of Kauśambi engraved above this inscription The writing which covers a space of about 6' 1" broad by 5' 4" high and which consists of 33 lines has suffered very much in its upper part

The inscription is non-sectarian, its object being to record the setting up of a pillar in honour of the great emperor

Samudragupta who was the son of Chandragupta by his wife Kumāradevi of the Lichchhavi family and the grandson of Ghatotkacha and the great grandson of Gupta, and who was a man of learning and fine arts and a liberal patron of the learned men. Considering his qualities he was selected by his father (Chandragupta I) to succeed him to the throne of Pushpapura (i. e. Pataliputra). In the prose portion his conquests are enumerated. He forcibly uprooted many kings of Āryāvarta including Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandrarman, Ganapatināga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi and Balavarman, conquered all the forest kings, defeated but reinstated as tributaries the kings of the southern India like Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of the great forest, Mantarāja of Korala, Mahendra of Pishtapura, Svāmīdatta of Gīri Kottur, Damana of Erandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kānchi, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Pālakka, Kubera of Devarāshtra and Dhananjaya of Kausthalapura, and made to pay homage the (frontier) kings of Samatata, Davāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāl, and Kartripura, and the clans of the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas, Abhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas, and Kharaparikas and the nations of the Daivaputra, Śāhi, Śāhānuśāhi, Śakas, Murundas and the Simhalas of the island. This poem which thus extols the wide conquests and merits of Samudragupta was composed by Harishena, the minister of peace and war, the counsellor of the prince and the general, who was the son of the general Dhruvabhūti. It was executed by the general Tilabhattaka.

Historical importance of the inscription—From the contents of the inscription given above it will be seen that this epigraphic record is a unique one among Indian annals in its wealth of detail. In the conquests of Samudragupta it gives us abundant historical information as to the divisions of India, the tribes and the kings that lived and ruled about the middle of the fourth century A. D. Though it is at present impossible to identify every one of the countries,

kings and peoples enumerated by the poet Harishena enough is known to enable us to form a clear idea of the extent of the dominions and the range of the alliances of Samudragupta. His empire seems to have included the larger part of the Indian Peninsula. Such a great emperor—not only a great warrior but a poet and a patron of poets and a man of high accomplishments was unknown even by name to the historians of India until this valuable record was discovered. Several scholars have attempted to identify these kings chief of whom are V. S. Smith (*J. A. S.* 1897 pp. 859) Allan (*Cat. Gupta coins* p. 111) Prof. Dubrenil (*Ancient History of Deccan*) K. N. Dixit (*Proc. First Ori. Confer.*) D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ind. Hist. quarterly* 1: 250) G. Ramdas (*Ibid.* p. 679).

The inscription being a piece of poetry, *Kāvya*, as the composer himself states, rather than a historical document the conquests of Samudragupta do not seem to have been arranged in a strict chronological or geographical order. He must have for instance first turned his arms against the powers nearest him and thoroughly subjugated the kings of Āryavarta before he proceeded to conquer the kings of the southern India though the poet has mentioned the latter before the former. Harishena classifies Samudragupta's campaigns geographically and also according to the degree of the success he got in them under five heads as that directed against the kings of Āryavarta nine of whom Rudradeva, Matila etc. are named. These kings were forcibly rooted up, a process which necessarily involved the incorporation to their territories in the dominions of the victor. The kings of Dalshināpātha eleven of whom—Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghratāja of the great forest and so on—are mentioned were next vanquished but re-instated by him. The chiefs of the wild tribes which he reduced to subjection are not specifically named. The rulers of five frontier kingdoms Sam

atata, Davāka and others and of the nine republics,—Mālavas, Arjunāyanas etc. were made feudatories. Lastly the rulers of the four foreign nations—Daivaputra and others, who were almost independant were entered into diplomatic relations.

It will thus be seen that the dominions under the direct government of Samudragupta comprised the whole of Northern India extending 'from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Beyond these limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gange-tic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rajputana and Mālvā were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might. But Prof. Dubreuil under-estimates the conquests of Samudragupta in the Deccan. See his *Ancient History Of Deccan* p. 60.

Prof. Radhagovind Basak supposes that the poet Kālidās, who lived in the time of Chandragupta II and Kumārgupta and even for some time during the reign of Skandagupta, describes the conquests of Raghu in the well known epic, Raghuvaṃśa (Canto IV) very probably to commemorate the military operations of Samudragupta's son Chandsagupta II (*Proceedings of the Calcutta Ori. Conf.* p. 325) Prof. Bhide thinks in the same way (*Proc. Poona conf*)

Date of the inscription — The inscription is unfortunately not dated. But since it describes the wide conquests of Samudragupta we must assign the inscription to a sufficiently later period of his reign. The inscription moreover gives an account of the personal accomplishments of the emperor. He is said to have been proficient in music, to have composed numerous metrical works worthy of the reputation of a good author and to have been a patron of the learned men. The

inscription also leads us to infer that before the time of the inscription the emperor had issued his coins bearing the legend पराक्रमङ्क and those depicting the emperor comfortably seated on a high-backed couch and engaged in playing the lyre Samudragupta must have enjoyed sufficient leisure to cultivate these arts and to patronize learned men. He must have also taken some years after his accession to the throne to complete these conquests. It is also to be noted that there is no allusion to the horse-sacrifice in this inscription, which was revived by Samudragupta as we know from the inscriptions of his successors and probably also from his Eran inscription (F G I No 2). It is thus clear that this inscription was engraved after he came home from his wars and before he performed the Horse-sacrifice. See Allans Catal. Gupt coins p. XXXII. He is supposed by scholars to have reigned from 335 to 375 A. D. We can therefore assign our record approximately to 350 A. D.

Poetical importance of the inscription — The inscription is as valuable a piece of Sanskrit poetry as it is a historical document. Its literary merits and its usefulness for the history of Sanskrit literature are very well shown by Dr. Bühler in his essay which is copied below in App. Suffice it to say here that Harisena's panegyric which has been specially designated as a *kavya* belongs to that variety called *Champu* which is made of a mixture of prose and verse (' गद्यपद्यनय काव्यं चमचूरित्यभिधीयते ' सा हिरीदरपण) The eight introductory stanzas the long prose passage that follows and the concluding stanza form one single gigantic sentence. This *Champu* reveals Harisena as a poet of no mean order. Everywhere as pointed out by Bühler Harisena seems to make conscious efforts to excel contemporary writers of *prastāva*. He displays certain well-marked characteristics of his literary style. First the style employed in metrical and prose passages is different. The language of the stanzas is usually simple and free from long and involved compounds and shows Harisena to be a follower

of the Vidarbha School. But the prose passage displays with a vengeance the quality *ojas* or vigour, defined as consisting in a profuseness of compounds ('ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम्.') Harisena has made himself responsible for one of the longest compounds in the language. A characteristic of his compounds is that their concluding part comes upon us as a surprise and is consequently very often involved and clumsy. Thus in the compound परशु...वर्मणः (11. 34-35) the concluding portion should naturally have read शोभोपचित्रवर्मणः. Similarly the longest compound could as well have ended with मोक्षनुग्रहजनितमहा-
 ११२.स्य. Again the next compound रुद्रदेव...महतः (11. 39. 40) would ordinarily conclude with प्रसभोद्धरणलब्धमहाप्रभावस्य. Another peculiarity is that between the long compounds Harisena inserts short phrases at definite intervals in order, as Bühler so beautifully puts it, to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. Then again in the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time. Harisena also uses some figures of speech, namely, Anuprāsa and Ślesa from the Śabdālamkāras and Rūpaka and Upamā from the Arthālamkāras. That he uses only a few figures is due to the fact that the Alamkāraśāstra was so developed then. (Gajendragadkar).

The metres used in the poem—The few letters that remain of the first two verses are not sufficient to show what metres were used in them. In the remaining verses the following metres are used: स्तम्भः vv. 3, 5, and 8; शार्ङ्गं विक्रीडति vv. 4 and 7; मन्दाक्रान्ता vv. 6; and शिखरिणी vv. 9.

Notes—V. 1, -यः—from the beginning to भुक्ते बाहुरय १२ छतः स्तम्भः (1, 13 of p. 6) is one long sentence. All the eight verses contain adjectival clauses qualifying तस्य (1. 9 p. 5), which

again containing long descriptive compounds in the genitive case qualifies समुद्रगुप्तस्य (111 p. 6). The whole sentence stands thus—य etc तस्य...समुद्रगुप्तस्य कर्तिम् आचक्ष्णः भुवो गहुः इव अय उन्निहतः स्तम्भ, [वर्तते] This lofty column appears as it were an upraised arm of the earth proclaiming the fame of Samudragupta, who etc Here we have a beautiful Utprekshā or poetical fancy. The word उन्निहत. can be taken both with स्तम्भ and बाहु. But it cannot be taken in the sense of 'erected (anew)' as the pillar was first set up by Aśoka With the expression in this inscription compare the expression अयं स्तम्भः...य. पृथिव्या भुज इव ...उन्निहते नायितः in vv 7 and 8 in No 6 below वृत्तैः by Kinsmen

V. 3 This stanza enumerates Samudragupta's literary attainments. ब्रह्मार्तां प्राज्ञानां बुधानां मित्र्यर्थः अनुसङ्गे सद्वचसे उचितं योग्यं सुखमनः यस्य सुख is a proleptic adjective. What the compound means is that he derived happiness from association with the wise, सत्त्वव्यधियः विरोधान् of परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का संगत श्रोतस्वयोऽपि येन प्रार्जितम् ॥ in the Baghari stone inscription of Chandella Madanavarman (*Ep Ind I 209*) The idea is that Samudragupta put an end to the usual war between good poetry and prosperity He was both a king and a poet. He also made poets rich by patronising them Prof Gajendragadkar suggests 2 different meaning of this phrase thus—सत्त्वव्यधियः विरोधान् विरोधशान्तिः विषयान् यैः उत्कृष्टं काव्यं निर्मातुं न शक्यते तान् इत्यर्थः; बुधगुणितगुणाः एव आज्ञा, ताभिः हतान्. The idea is that he cultivated those qualities which the wise have enumerated as useful for overcoming the defects that stand in the way of the production of beautiful poetry. विद्वलोके.....भुनक्ति—This clearly denotes that Samudragupta was a poet of a high order. The Gupta emperors were very enlightened rulers They were not only patrons of learning but some of them were great poets This inscription shows that Samudragupta was himself a great poet and his high

officer हरिषेण (cf समीप...मते in the letter portion) was undoubtedly a great poet. An inscription of Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II found at Udayagiri (*F. G. I.* No. 6) also shows that his chief minister दशमेन was a poet of a high order

V. 4, आयौ.....पादमुर्वीमिति—This verse seems to indicate that Chandragupta I selected Samudragupta from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him to the throne. From the epithet तदरिगृहीत applied to Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II in his inscriptions it seems that the custom of selection was prevalent in those times (*F. G. I.* P. 12 n. 1).

V. 7, अद्युत नागसेन They were two of the many rulers of Āryāvarta, who are mentioned in the further portion of the record. कोटकुलज (a king) born in a Kota family of which nothing is so far known. पुष्पाहये—in (a city) called Pushpa (pura) i. e. in Pataliputra (modern Patnā) which was originally called Kusumapura. It was apparently the Gupta capital. क्रीडता This means that while Samudragupta was but young.

V. 8, The stanza enumerates the various qualities of Samudragupta and concludes by saying that he was possessed of every kind of virtue. P. 61. 9-विविध...दक्षस्य—With this expression compare the legend on some of Samudragupta's gold coins—समस्तवित- तविजय- जिज्ञा...दिवो जयति. See *F. G. I.* p. 12 n. 2

पराक्रमाङ्गण—Of (one) designated 'Parākrama. Parākrama was a title of Samudragupta just as Vikrama was of his son Chandragupta. The title Parākrama is met with on his coins of the Standard Type (cf *Allans Cat of Gupta coins* p. 1. ff.). He was also designated Vyāghra-parākrama (*ibid* p. 17) and Āsvamedha-parākrama (*ibid* p. 21) just as his son was Sīmha-vikrama and Ajita-vikrama. परशु.....दैवस्तिक etc. These are various kinds of weapons used in war in ancient India: परशु, शर, शङ्ख, दक्षि, क्रस, असि, तोमर, भिन्दिपात्र, नाराच, and वीरस्तिक. The last was probably some weapon equal in leng-

th to a span वितास्ति. शोभासमुदाय is a Sanskritism for समुदिता शोभा.
 L. 12 कौसलक महेन्द्र etc are to be read in pairs, the first
 part being a name of the territory and the second a name of
 the king—as Mahendra of Kosala etc. The territorial name is
 an adjectival derivative, from कौसल कौसलक etc. कौसलक महेन्द्र—
 Mahendra of Kosala This Kosala must be south Kosala which
 embraced the eastern and southern parts of the C, P. and
 one of whose early capitals was Śīroura, modern Sirpur in
 C. P. (Ep. Ind XI 184). Nothing is known about Mahendra.
 एरण्डपल्लव दमन—Damana of Erandapalla. Fleet identifies
 Erandapalla with Erandol in the E. Khandesha District of
 the Bombay Presidency (I. R. A. S. 1898 p.p. 369-70)
 Messrs K. N. Dikshit and Y.R. Gupte are of the same opinion.
 According to Dubreuil and Mr. K. G. Sunkar it is the same as
 the town Erandapali near Chicacole on the coast of Orissa
 (Ep. Ind. XII p. 212). G. Rāmadās says Fleet's identification
 is wrong as Erandapalli mentioned immediately after the
 kingdom of Svāmidatta cannot be so far away on the western
 coast. It must be somewhere in the vicinity of Kalinga and
 Pishtapura Kingdom. Similarly Dubreuil's identification is also
 wrong as Chicacole lies in Kalinga which is the country of
 Svāmidatta (I. H. O I p 682). Erandapalli will have
 therefore, to be identified with the village Yendipalli in the
 Gogonda Taluka of the Vizagapatam district or with the village
 Endrapalli in the Eluru Taluka. But if we suppose that
 Svāmidatta was king of Kottura, not entire Kalinga Erandapalli
 may well be identified with Chicacole, (K. G. Sunkar,
 कान्चेयक विष्णुगोपा—Vishnugopa of Kānchi. Kānchi is undoubt-
 edly the modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District,
 Madras Presidency. The kingdom of Kānchi extended from
 the mouth of the Krishnā to the south of the river Pālār and
 sometimes even Kāveri. To the west of this lie the Eastern
 Ghats, in which must have been the kingdom of Vengi,
 Palakka and Avamukta. King Vishnugopa is no doubt identical
 with an early Pallava King of that name (Bom. Gaz. I, p 319)

महाकांतार वन — Vāgharājā of Mahākāntāra or great forest which has to be his in the sense referred to later on in the inscription. But it is difficult to identify this Mahākāntāra. According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (*Ind. Ant.* 19.6 p. 229) it must have included the Saurashtra division of C. P. extending northwards to the Ajmer district in Bundelkhand and Vāgharājā combined with Vāgharāja a feudatory of the Vāṅdeva sovereign Prithviraj I mentioned in the Gwalior inscription (*E. Ind.* XVIII p. 12). But G. Ramdas differs from this view on the ground that Mahākāntāra must be sought in the southern 'nāṭya' as it was one of the kingdoms of the Deccan conquered by Samudragupta. He suggests therefore, that it must be the same as Mahāvara, a forest region extending northwards into Ganjam Agency and westwards into the tract now known as the Chhatarguah States of C. P. and that Vāgharājā cannot be identified with Vāgharāja of the Gwalior inscription. (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Soc.* Vol. I p. 233 कर्णाटक मंत्र-मन्तराजा of Kurala. According to Fleet *I. G. I.* p. 7 n. 1 कर्णाट is a mistake for कर्नाटक denoting the well known province Kerala. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q.* I 25') identifies this Kerala with the Saurashtra territory in C. P. round about Varanasi where the author of the *Pravak* locates the Kerala. Dr. Farnell identifies Kurala with Kōṭala (*Bulletin Société Or. Stud.* II iii, p. 569). Kurala is taken by Kielhorn (*I. Ind.* VI 3 n. 3) to be the same as Kūṭala mentioned in the Ashoka inscription (No. 12 below) and identified with the Kolleru lake between the Godavari and the Krishna. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar objects to this on the ground that the Kolleru lake must have been included in the kingdom of Venṇa mentioned below in the inscription. According to G. Ramdas (*I. H. Q.* vol. I p. 68) Kurala must be the place country of the Ganjam district to the north-east of the Mahendragiri hill now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas वैश्यामना दशमस्कन्ध + चन्द्रम- there is a difference of opinion among scholars for the division of the words in

his phrase. Fleet (*F. G. I*, p. 7 n. 2) separates them as पैष्टपुरक
 रदेन्द्र and गिरिकैऋकस्वानिदत्त i. e. Mahendra of Pishtapura and
 Svāmidatta of Kottura on the hill. But Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
 says, "The vṛddhi in kautturaka clearly shows that the word
giri is to be connected with Mahendra. If *giri* had formed
 part of the name of the country of which Svāmidatta was a
 ruler we should have had Gairikauttūraka instead of Girikau-
 tturaka (*I. H. Q. I* p. 252)" So according to him Mahendragiri
 was the king of Pishtapura and Svāmidatta was of Kottura.
 V. A. Smith also is of the same opinion. But G. Ramdas
 (*I. H. Q. I* p. 680) takes the whole phrase together and trans-
 lates it as Svāmidatta, who had his seat at Pishtapura and at
 Kottura near Mahendragiri. This means that he was the king
 of both the places as it is often found in inscriptions that
 the king of Pishtapura was also the king of Kalinga in which
 Kottura is situated. He objects to Bhandarkar's opinion on
 the ground that the name Mahendragiri of a king is unsuppor-
 ted by history or inscriptions. But Mr. Ramdas has not met
 Bhandarkar's grammatical arguments. Secondly no other
 king in this inscription is associated with all his strongholds.
 It is better therefore to divide the phrase as Dr. Bhandarkar
 has done, Pishtapura is the same as the fortress Pishtapura
 captured by the Chalukya king Pulakesin II (see No. 12 below)
 and is the modern Pithāpuram in the Godavari district of
 the Madras Presidency. Mahendragiri, the Mahendra hill,
 according to Mr. G. Ramdas (*op. cit.*) has always been asso-
 ciated with Kalingas and, is the abode of Gokarnasyāmi,
 the family god of the Ganga kings. As there are a number
 of villages named Kottura in the district of Ganjam the
 Kottura in our inscription is distinguished as being one near
 the Mahendra hill. Dubreuil (*op. cit.*) takes our Kottura
 as identical with kothoor in Ganjam.

कौरवपुरकथनग्रजय — Dhavanajaya of Kusthalapura. Kusth-
 alapura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kusasthalapura
 कुरुक्षेत्र of 'the holy city Dwarka; Kusasthala was the capita]

of Anarta : e, N. Gujarat. Dr. Bhandarkar however following Dr. Barnett identifies the place with Kuttalur near Polur in N. Arcot (*I. H. Q* I p. 254) G. Ramdas locates the place in Gujrat following Smith. रुद्रदेव...वरवर्ध— These kings of Āryāvarta destroyed by Samudragupta are nine in number and it has been suggested by Rapson (*I. R. A. S.* 1897 p. 421) that possibly they may all have been Nāgas and denote the 'Nava Nāgas' of the Vishnu P not as a dynasty of nine members as they are generally taken to be, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race. But as we shall see further the kings were of different dynasties. रुद्रदेव— Mr. K. N. Dikshit identifies him with Rudrasena of the Vikātika dynasty. This seems to be very probable.

मतिष्ठ—He may be identical with the Mattiṣṭa of the seal found in Bulandshahr. But Allan (Cat. of *Gupta Coins* p. XXIII) thinks that the absence of any honorific on the seal suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage

नागवर्ध...Nothing is known of this king. चन्द्रवर्मन—M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri, Smith, R. D. Banerji and others identify him with king Chandragupta of Pushkaranā (modern Pokharnā in Mārwar) who is mentioned in the Susunra inscription (*Ep. Ind* XII p. 318) He is also identical with the sovereign king Chandra mentioned in the Meharauli inscription (*Ind Ant.* 1913 p. 217) Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Dr Bhandarkar and K. G. Sankar think that he was the king of Pokharnā which is modern Bānkurā, but he cannot be Chandra of the Meharauli inscription (*I. H. Q.* I p 255). गणपतिनाग—He is no doubt the same as Ganapati of Naga family whose coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. He was probably ruling at Vidiśa. His predecessor was Śivanandi. (*Archl Sur Ind.* 1915 -16. नागसेन—He is no doubt a king of another Nāga family

ruling at Padmāvati (modern Pawāwā in the Gwalior territory). In *Harsha Charita* his fall is said to have been caused by a *Sarikā*-bird (*I. H. Q.* I p. 255 & *R. A.* S 1899 p. 478). अद्युत — He was probably a king of a third Nāga family ruling at Mathura. The copper and bronze coins bearing the syllable *achya* and found in the Bareilly district of U. P. were probably issued by him. नर्मिदम् — Nothing is known of this king.

बलवर्मन् — According to Mr. Dikshit he is most probably identical with Balavaman an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam. (*E. p. Ind.* XII p. 73) Since Assam or Kāmarupa is separated by this epigraph Balavaman may have been first ruling in the eastern part of Āryāvarta just to the west of Assam. His descendants after the defeat at the hands of Samudragupta seem to have shifted towards Assam.

आर्यादत्तं—lit. the abode of the Aryas is the common term used to denote Northern India specially. In the *Manusmṛiti* (II 22) it is defined as the land between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western sea. The poet Rāj śekhara speaks in the *Bāhuvāyana* (Act VI) of the river Narmadā as the dividing line of Āryāvarta and the Dakṣiṇāpāṭha. अष्टदिक्काम — According to D.

R. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q.* I p. 256) it is the country which must have extended from Bāg helkhand right up almost to the sea coast of Orīsa. In the copperplate of *Parivrajaka Hasti* (*F. G. I.* p. 114) the Dabhāla kingdom is said to have been included in the Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (*Atavika-ājya*).

समतट—Varāhamihira places Samatata in the eastern division, and Hiuen Tsiang, to the east of the Tāmralipī country and bordering on the sea. It is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputrā of which the Jessore and Khulna Districts form the central portion. Its capital Karmānta has been identified with Kāmā in the Comilla District by Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya (*I. A. S. D.* 1914 p. 85) (*I. H. Q.*)

I p. 256) डदा—According to Fleet it may correspond to Dacca. According to V. Smith it corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi. But as these districts were not actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions Prof Dr Bhandarkar (I. H. Q I p 257) suggests that Dvaka corresponds to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Tipperah कानरु—It corresponds in the main to modern Assam the central portion of which is still known as Kārup.

नेपाल—It is well known. कर्तुर—Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartarpur in the Jalandhar District. But it may correspond to the Kumāon, Garhwā and Rohilkhand (I. H. Q I p. 257) L 20 मालव—They were originally the same as the Malloi of the Greek writers and the Malvas the Mlecchha people who according to the *Mudrā-rākshasa* fought against the Maurya Chandragupta. They appear to have migrated southwards and were in occupation of a province called Vigraśāl in the south-eastern portion of the Jupur state in Rajputana where their coins of a period approximately from BC 150 to 250 A.D. were found in numbers. (Bhandarkar's *Charmuchet lectures* 1921 p 12) In the Gupta period they seem to have migrated still further southwards as is indicated from some inscriptions of the period. They had occupied the southern part of Rajputana and the parts of Central India adjoining them (*Ind. Ant.* 1891 p. 464), I. H. Q I p 257)

अजुनयन—They had probably occupied the eastern part of the Jupur and the Alwar State. Their coins are also found अघन—See above in No 1. From the find-spots of their coins seals and inscriptions they seem to be ruling in the country between Satej and the Jumna as far southwards as Bharatpur state (I. H. Q I p 258) According to Prof Dabernid they had established themselves in the Malwa region probably after the death of the Kushan emperor Vāsudeva and were neighbours of the Nagas (*Anc Hist. of Deccan*

p. 32.) **सादक**—Their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding region between the Rāvi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Sāketa (modern Sialkot) (*I. H. Q. I.* p. 258, and *J. A. S. B.* 1922 p. 257). **आभीर**—According to Smith they can be located in the province of Ahirwādā between the Pārvati and the Betwā rivers in Central India. But as Ābhiras are often mentioned in the Kshatrapa inscriptions of Surāshtra they may be located in Kathiawad and Gujarat.

प्राञ्जुन—Smith locates them in the Narsinghpur Dist. of C.P. But Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar locates them near Narsingarh in C. P. **सनकानी**—A Chief of the Sanakanika tribe or family is mentioned as a feudatory of Chandragupta II in a cave inscription from Udayagiri near Bhelsā. Though this is not sufficient to locate the family in that part it seems probable that the Sanakanikas were somewhere near that part.

काक—Nothing is so far known of this. **खरपरिक**—According to Dr. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q. I* 258) they were probably identical with Kharpara mentioned in the Batihāgarh inscription (*E. P. Ind. XII* 46) of the Damoha District. In C. P. **शान्तवशसः**—Dr. Bühler suggests the reading शान्त (tired) for शान्त. L. 23 **देवपुत्रशाहिशाहानुशाहि**—Fleet, Smith and Allan split up this word into three different titles देवपुत्र, शाहि, and शाहानुशाहि denoting different princes. But according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q. I* p. 259) since the word in the inscription is देवपुत्र and not देवपुत्र it shows that the word cannot stand by itself but must be taken along with what follows. The whole expression corresponds with the full royal insignia देवपुत्र महाराज राजातिराज of the Later Great Kushānas or Kushānaputras as they called themselves. They exercised sway not only over the Kābul valley but also over the Punjab and the Mathura regions.

शक—Some scholars take this racial name to refer to the

Kshatrapas of Kāthiawad and Malwa. But according to Prof Bhandarkar (*I. H. Q* I p 260) the Śaka king referred to in this inscription was probably the Śaka king Śrīdharmavarman or his successor mentioned in the Sānchi inscription of Ś. 241, published in E. I. XVI 232

मुकुट — According to Sten Konow the Murundas were in reality the Kushānas and the word Murunda itself is not the name of a tribe but a Śaka word meaning 'lord' which was used as a title by the Śakas and after them by the Kushānas. (*Ep. Ind* XIV p. 292).

सिंहक — i. e. Ceylon An account of the embassy of the Ceylon king Śrī Meghavarman has been preserved by the Chinese authorities which say that he sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodha Gaya (*Smith Ind. Ant.* 1902 p. 192)

L 24 सर्वद्रोप...वर्षस्व — आरमनिवेदन, कन्योपायन and दान are to be taken as distinct **गरुडमदङ्क** I take with reference to शासन as Allan does i. e. **गरुडमदङ्क**.....'चन means 'soliciting of charters bearing the Garuḍa seal confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories. Fleet takes the expression **गरुडमदङ्क** to mean coins bearing the tokens of Garuḍa i. e. Gupta coins. But as Garuḍa was not a necessary symbol on Gupta coins it is better to take this as Allan (p XXV) has done, in the sense of the royal seal of the Guptas. In Samudragupta's seal which is a true one, attached to the spurious Gayā plate Garuḍa is represented, (See *FGI* p 25) **पृथिव्या.....सुचरितशत** — With this compare the legend अप्रतिरोधो बभूवुः शक्तिं सुचरितैर्दिव जयति on Samudragupta's coins (Allan p 6) The synonymous expression अप्रतिवार्यवयं is found in Samudragupta's Eran inscription (*FGI* No 2) **वरणतकप्रसूढ**—About this poetically beautiful expression see App P. 6, L. 1, साध्वसाधू etc. साधुन उदयः असाधुनः प्र-य res-

pectively. Or साधूनां उदय; असाधूनां प्रलय; (Dravid).

गुरुपर्याचिन्त्यस्य — This suggests that Samudragupta was like Purushottama or Parama Purusha (Fleet).

अनेकगोशत — Compare Ushavadātas inscription A. S. W. I IV. 19 and Ep. Ind VIII 19.

धनद — etc. These four are the divine guardians of the four cardinal points. It may be noted that this epithet is one of the three always and only applied to Samudragupta.

L. 5 निशित...मसि etc. On Samudragupta's coins of the Lute-player type he is represented as seated on a high-backed couch playing a lute or tyre. This affords a striking corroboration of his musical skill. (See Allan p. 18).

विद्वज्जनो etc—Who had established his title of 'king of poets' by various poetic compositions sufficient for the learned men to make their living i. e., by which their authors can be valued as great poets to deserve patronage from kings. I think we can also interpret the word कविराज both as a king i. e. patron of poets because he gave subsistence to the learned men (विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यमानक्रिया) and as the prince of poet i. e. a great poet because he prepared a number of poetical compositions. (अनेककाव्यक्रिया)

लोकधासो देवस्य — Fleet renders 'a god dwelling on the earth'. But it is better to take this, as Prof. Dravid has done, as two expressions, the former meaning 'who was a place of refuge for all people' and the latter in the usual sense of 'a king.'

महाराजश्रीगुप्त Gupta, the first king of the Gupta line and his son Ghatotkacha bear the epithet *Mahārāja* only, which denoted the position of a feudatory in those days; while Chandragupta & Samudragupta bear the epithet *Mahārāja-dhīrāja* denoting their Imperial power,

लिच्छवि—This dynasty which once ruled in Nepāl was of such respectable ancestry that the Gupta emperor Samudragupta in spite of his territorial greatness considered it an honour to be connected on his mother's side with that dynasty. **महादेव्यां**—Mahādevī is a title which in those days was applied to the queen of a paramount sovereign and corresponds to the title Mahārājādhirāja applied to the latter.

विचरणा—Dr. Buhler takes the word विचरण in the sense of a path. **यस्य**—This qualifies the word यज्ञः within the verse.

V. 9 प्रदान.....पयः—In this verse Samudragupta's fame which is supposed to be of white colour and which was spread in the three worlds in compared with the Ganges, whose waters are white and which is called त्रिपथगाः i. e. moving in three places Ākāśa, Prithvi and Pātālā.

उपर्युपरि—See Dr. Buhler's note on this in the App.

काव्य—The inscription is certainly a Kavyā.

समीपपरिसर्पण etc—This again suggests the poetical abilities of the emperor.

खाद्यटपाकिक—The meaning of this term is not clear. It may be a tribal name or a family name or an official title. I think it is a family name.

महादण्डनायक—The chief police officer or the chief judicial officer according as we take the meaning of the word दण्ड.

Translation.

P. 6. L. 13 This column has been raised which is (or this lofty column is) as it were an arm of the earth raised up, which announces the fame greatly augmented through his conquest of the whole earth and which having pervaded the entire surface of the earth found a lovely and happy movement by going to the abode of the lord of gods

P. 6. L. 11. Of the illustrious *Samudraqupla* the lord of great kings.

V. 2. Who.....by his own kinsmen whose

V. 2 Who twanging (of the bow-string) burst open and scattered dishevelled

V. 3 Whose happy mind is fit for associating with the wise: who was the master of the real sense of the scriptures; firmly fixed..... ,... who having overwhelmed, with the (force of the) commands of the collective merits of (his) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry enjoys in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (produced) by much poetryof clear meaning :—

V. 4 Who, being looked at with sad faces (through the rejection of themselves) by kinsmen of equal birth, while the courtiers breathed freely with joy, was bidden by (his) father, who, exclaiming " Verily (he is) worthy, " embraced (him) with the hair of (his) body standing erect (through pleasure) (and) thus indicative of (his) sentiments and looked at him with eyes perturbed by affection overcome with tears (of joy) (yet) perceiving the right thing said to him ' Protect then this earth, '

V. 5. Whose.....some people (were accustomed to) taste with affection,.....with their joy mixed with wonder when they beheld (his) many actions that resembled nothing of a mortal nature; (and) whose protection other people afflicted by (his) prowess, sought. performing obeisance, ;—

V. 6 [Whose] doers of great wrong, always conquered by his arm in battle, to morrow and to morrow pride re-
pentance, with minds elated with joy (and) blooming with

much clearly displayed pleasure and affection
the spring (?) ,—

V 7 By whom —having, unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted *Achyuta* and *Nagasena* ,— (by whom) causing him who was born in the family of the *Kolas* to be captured by (his) armies (and) sporting in (the city) that had the name of *Pushpa* while the sun..... the banks,; —

V. 8 (of whom it is said),— ' The building of the (protecting) wall of religion fame as white as the rays of the moon, (and) spreading far and wide, learning that pierces the essential nature of things calmness, the path prescribed by the virtuous that is worthy to be followed, and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the intellect of poets (all these are his), (in short) what (virtue) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is an object of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect ? '—

P 5 L 9 Who is skilful in engaging in a hundred battles of various kinds,—whose only ally is his valour depending upon the strength of his own arm; whose special characteristic is valour (or who has an emblem of *parākrama*),—whose body looked more charming because of the accumulation of the grace of a hundred scars left by the severe wounds received from various weapons like the battle-axes, arrows, spears, spikes, barbed darts, swords, iron clubs, javelins for throwing iron arrows, *vaishikas* (scimitars) and many other (weapons) —

L. 16. Whose great good fortune is mixed with, so as to be increased by (his) glory produced by his acts of capturing, replacing and favouring all the kings of the south including *Mahendra* of *Kosala*, *Vyāghra* of *Mahākāntara*, *Maniraja* of *Kerala*, *Mahendra* of *Pishlapura*, *Svaminidatta*

of *Kottura* on the hill, *Damana* of *Erandapalla*, *Vishnugopa* of *Kanchi*, *Nilaraja* of *Avamukta*, *Hastivarman* of *Vengi*, *Ugrasena* of *Palakka*, *Kubera* of *Devarashtra*, *Dhananjaya* of *Kausthalapura*, and all the other kings of the region of the south ;—

L. 18. Who has become great by his power being increased by violently supplanting a number of rulers like *Rudradeva*, *Matil*, *Nagadatta*, *Chandravarman*, *Ganapalinaga*, *Nagasena*, *Achyuta*, *Nandin*, *Balvarman*, and many other kings of (the land of) *Aryavarta*;— who had reduced to vassalage all the chiefs of the forest kingdoms.

L. 21 Whose imperious commands are fully gratified, by paying all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to do homage, by the frontier kings of *Samatata*, *Davaka*, *Kamarupa*, *Nepala*, *Kartripura*, and other (countries), and by the (tribes) *Malavas*, *Arjunayanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, *Abhiras*, *Prarjunas*, *Sanakanika*, *Kakas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other (tribes) ;—

L. 23 Whose fame arising from his re-instating many ruling families previously dethroned and extirpated has come to rest (only) after wandering over the whole earth; whose binding together of the (whole) earth by means of the great strength of (his) arms is effected by service (rendered) by such means as self-surrender, offering of maidens, presents, soliciting of charters bearing the *Garuda* seal, confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories etc. by *Daivaputras*, *Sahis*, *Sahanusahis*, *Sakas* and *Murundas* and by the people of *Sindhra* and all (other) dwellers in islands: **L. 26** Who has no rival in war in the world; who has wiped off with the sole of his foot the fame of other kings in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues which shone by hundreds of good actions; who is an incomprehensible person (parama purusha) and is the cause of the elevation of the good and of the de-

ruktion of the evil; who being full of compassion has a tender heart that can be won over simply by devotion and submission, who is the giver of many hundreds and thousands of cows:—

P. 6, 13 Whose mind is occupied with the initiation of the charm of relieving the low, the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted;—who is a flaming embodiment of the spirit of public good;—who is a compeer of Dhanarḍa (i. e. Kubera) Varuna, Indra and Antaka (i. e. Yama).—whose officers are always engaged in restoring royal splendour to the numerous king overthrown by him by the strength of his arms:—

L. 6 Who puts to shame the preceptor of the lord of the gods (i. e. Brihaspati) by his sharp and polished intellect and Tumburu and Nārada by lovely performances of music:—

L. 7 Who established (his) title of 'King of poets,' by various poetical compositions that are fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people;—whose many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time:—

L. 8 Who is a mortal only in so far as he performs the actions required by the conventions of the world (but is otherwise) a god, dwelling on the earth—who is the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja* the illustrious *Gupta*;—who is the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ghatotkacha*;—who is the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja* the glorious *Chandragupta* (II), (and) the daughter's son of *Lichchhavi*, begotten on the *Mahadevi Kumāradevi*;—

V. 9 Whose glory, which rises up in layers one above the other through the manifestation of his generosity, prowess of the arms and self-control and his proficiency in the precepts of the scriptures and which spreads in more than one way, purifies the three worlds like the white waters of the Ganges, which flows in higher and higher floods, follows more than one path and dashes forth rapidly by reason of being liberated from confinement in the cave in the form of the interior of the matted hair of (the god) *Paśupati*

L. 18 Now may this poetical composition—(the work of **Harishena**, who is the son of **Mahādandanāyaka Dhruvabhuti** of the **Khādyatapākika** family, who is (himself) a slave of the feet of this same king, whose intelligence is blooming forth by the favour of dwelling near His Majesty and who is himself a **Sāndhivigrahika**, **Kumārāmātya** and **Mahādandanāyaka**, conduce to the welfare and happiness of all beings.

And it is executed by **Mahādandanāyaka Tilabhataka**, who meditates on the feet of the emperor.

No. 4.

Girnar Rock Inscription of Skandagupta.

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved on the North-west face of the large granite boulder which also contains the fourteen edicts of Asoka and the long inscription of **Mahākshatrpa Kudradāman** published above in No. 1. It is half the way from the modern town of Junagadh to the famous **Girnar** hill in the east. The writing which covers a space of about 10'6" broad by 7'8" high contains 26 lines. The inscription is divided into two parts. The second part which begins with L. 24 is too much damaged and hence is not copied in this edition. It was first published by **James Prinsep** in 1838 in the *J. A. S. B. Vol. VII* p. 347. Its latest edition is published by **Dr. Fleet** in his *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 58 ff.

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to record the restoration of the embankment of the **Sudarśana** lake in the year 137 of the Gupta era by **Chakrapālita**, who was appointed to rule over the place by his father **Parnadatta**, the viceroy over **Surashtra** of the Gupta emperor **Skandagupta**.

The *contents* of the inscription can be divided into the following sections

- I The *mangala* addressed to the god Vishnu v. 1.
- II Glory of Skandagupta sung vv 2-6
- III Appointment of governors by him in all provinces v 7
- IV His anxiety to select a competent viceroy to rule over Surashtra vv 8-11
- V His appointment of Parnadatta over Surashtra vv 12-13
- VI Appointment by Parnadatta of his son Chakrapāṇita over the capital town of Surashtra and the description of the high qualities of Parnadatta vv 14-25.
- VII A poetic description of the bursting of the lake Sudarśana in the year 136 of the Gupta era vv. 26-31,
- VIII The restoration of the lake in the year 137 vv. 32 37
- IX Wish for the long life of the lake v 38
- X Wish for the flourishing condition of the citizens v 39.

Historical importance of the inscription—This inscription gives us the historical information that after defeating completely his enemies the Mlechchhas and others, who had threatened to bring the dynasty to an end as is stated in another inscription at Blitar of Skandagupta (F G I No 13) the Gupta emperor occupied himself in organising his empire by appointing trusted and competent viceroys over all the provinces. He was specially anxious to select a fully competent man to govern the Surashtras who could guard his vast empire from further troubles from the west. In Parnadatta he found the right man and therefore by appointing him to govern the western part of his empire

He became as free from anxiety as the gods had been by appointing Varuna to govern the West. The enemies who had caused so much anxiety to Skandagupta were no doubt the Hūnas who had invaded India and threatened the Gupta empire in the latter part of Kumāragupta's reign. But they were repulsed by the bravery of Skandagupta and for some time the empire was saved. But in about 510 A. D. they again invaded India and took possession of a part of Central India at least.

The inscription gives us an idea of the system of provincial government during the Gupta rule. The provincial governors were appointed directly by the Imperial Government from Pāṭalīputra and were given power to appoint district local officers under them according to their choice. We see that Parnadatta was appointed viceroy by the emperor himself but the governor of Gīrīnagara was appointed by the viceroy.

A third point that deserves mention is that the benefits of irrigation to be derived by damming the Sudarśana lake were apparent from very old times and the Central Government at Pāṭalīputra (modern Patnā) took steps in maintaining it even in the remotest province of the empire. We know from Rudradāman's inscription at Gīrnar (No. 1 above) that in the third cent. B. C. the great Maurya emperor Chandragupta first built the Sudarśana lake through the viceroy of Surāstra Pushyagupta and that his grandson Aśoka made necessary improvements in it through his viseroy Rājā Tushāspa. In 150 A. D. however a violent storm like the one described in the present inscription destroyed the embankment which was rebuilt three times larger and stronger by Pahlava Suvtsākha, the Surāshtra governor of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. But as we see from the present inscription the dam again burst in G. S. 130 but was rebuilt by Chakrapālita evidently under orders of Skanda-

gupta in G S 137 testifying to the fact the Gupta emperor continued to take for irrigation works even in the remote dominions. We do not know when after this the embankment burst for the lake now no longer exists and no trace of it even now remains.

The date of the inscription—We know that the era in this and in other inscriptions of the Gupta rulers is the well-known Gupta era which begins with 319 A. D. It is only the present inscription which makes the earliest specific mention of the name Gupta (गुप्तकाले in v. 27) with whom the era was connected.

Poetical importance of the inscription—As regards the poetical value of the inscription it must be said that the poet is not of a very high order and though possessing poetical abilities he is very poor in expressing ideas. A number of uncouth phrases are scattered through out the inscription and the meaning in many places has to be made out with much difficulty. Of the *śabdāṅkaras* used by the poet Anuprās is common. Varṇanuprāsa is practically found used in every verse. Of Padanuprās v. 14 is the best instance where the word अर्थ is used in different senses. The *Atthāṅkaras*. **Meters used in the inscription—**मालिनी in vv. 1, 2, 3 and 38. आर्ष in v. 4. उपज्ञानि in vv. 5, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37. इन्द्रजा in v. 6, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 27. वैताल्य औपचन्द्रसिक् in v. 16 and वशस्थ in v. 26, 28, 29, 30, and 31.

Notes—V. 1 The exploit of Vishnu described in the first two lines suggests that of the hero of the poem viz. Skandagupta. This is in accordance with the best classical usage. The whole verse is applied by suggestion to Skandagupta would mean Victorious is he who snatched away the wealth from the powerful (Huns) who had wrested it (from his dynasty) for a considerable time for the benefit of the subjects. अग्निमहामोक्ष—This is rather an obscure com-

pound. The reading भोग्यां is quite clear in the inscription. It may mean भोग्यत्वेन अभिमत; welcomed or solicited (by all) for enjoyment or अभिमतेन भोग्यां fit to be enjoyed by the chosen (cf श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत्) The idea is that the goddess of wealth is to be enjoyed by the person of her choice.

नैककाल—i. e. a long time, The poet uses the expression again in v. 12 below. विजितार्तिः—in the sense of अतिहरः is not a happy expression. Possibly the poet wanted to suggest विजितारि or विजिताराति in the case of Skandagupta. ३१५३३जिष्णुः—absolutely all-conquering. Vv. 2-3 तदनु—nnt to god Vishnu stands Skandagupta in that attribute. प्रतिवृत्ति—substitute, governor निर्दिष्टा—as an antidote, The idea is expressed in an awkward way. अवकर्त्ता—from कृत् with अव to pluck off. निकेत—abode यः...चकार—The first line of the third verse is to be taken with the second verse. The remaining three lines contain the adjectival phrase. The whole stands thus—तदनु स्कन्दगुप्तः जयति य...चकार , पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवति—i. e. पितरि परलोकं गते सति It refers to the death of Kumāragupta, the father of Skandagupta. After Kumāragupta's death the empire was in a disorder as is seen from the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta (F. G. I. No. 13). Skandagupta had to undergo many troubles to restore peace in the empire by defeating the enemies specially the Hūnas who had invaded the country and by putting down the revolts of feudatory chiefs. V. 4 अपि च etc. The construction is तेन जिते यस्य यशांसि रिपवः प्रथयन्ति etc. Or it may be thus—(स्कन्दगुप्तः) यस्य यशांसि रिपवः अपि च जितमेव तेन इति प्रथयन्ति. निवसन्तो—is the reading proposed by prof. K. B. Pathaka. म्लेच्छ—The word is used here in connection with the Hūnas.

V. 5 व्यपेत्य—having rejected. The root is used by the poet in two more places—धर्मादपेतो v, 6 and अनपेतभावः v. 8.

व्यपेत्य...वरयावकार—This expression according to some

scholars implies a fratricidal struggle after the death of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, out of which Skandgupta emerged victorious and succeeded him. But it is not necessary to suppose in this way, The मनुजेद्रपुत्र may be disappointed princes like the brothers of Samudragupta who were discarded by Chandraguta I.

यं—This qualifies the word स्कन्दगुप्त in v. 3.

V. 7 गोप्तृन्-गोप्ता lit. protector In ancient times this word seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning a governor as here or a feudatory prince as in the sentence वमूत् गोप्ता नृपविश्ववर्णे in the Mandasore inscription No 5 below.

Vv. 8 to 11 are to be taken together. The construction stands thus—सर्वेषु भृत्येषु कः अनुरूपः स्यात्...कः समर्थः स्यात् यः सुराष्ट्रान् प्रशिष्यात्, V. 11. सुराष्ट्रान्—The names of countries were many times used in the plural as कलिङ्गाः The form सुराष्ट्रान् is used in the Girnar Inscription No. 1 above and in a number of copperplates of the rulers of Valabhi.

V. 12 यः सच्चियुक्तः—The word यः is awkwardly used here. It must be taken to qualify, पर्णदत्त in the preceding sentence. The poet might have thought of using सः, which however did not suit the metre. The poet has used this word in a number of places in the inscription where it is unsuitable V 13 नियुज्य देवाः etc. This verse is certainly a fine example of उपमा. Surāshtra was the western-most part of the Gupta empire. V. 14 तस्यात्मजो—This word qualifies चक्रपालित in the 16th verse. In fact the verses from the 14th to the 18th are to be taken together. The sentence stands thus—तस्यात्मजः चक्रपालितः अभवत् यः पितरं विशेषयाचकार यस्मिन् क्षमा...शुणा वसन्ति । तस्यात्मजो...रूपः. There is a great deal of quibble on the word आत्मन् which is eight times used in this verse in different senses. तस्य आत्मजः : आत्मजभावयुक्तः आत्मा आत्मवेशेन द्विधा इव नीतः सर्वारम्भना आत्मा एव रक्षणीयः, आत्मवान्, आत्मजकान्तरूपः (एवं रूपः) अभवत् (1) आत्मज-son (2) आत्मजभाव-filial affection (3) His self

i. e. the father's self was as it were divided into two—one part was the father himself and the other was the son. आत्मवशेन means by being overwhelmed with the dictates of his soul. सर्वस्मिन् by his whole soul or attention i. e. by extreme care, as if he was his own self (आत्मा एव). आत्मवान् He was self-possessed. आत्मजकान्तिरूपः here आत्मज means cupid—whose form was as beautiful as that of the cupid.

V. 15 पद्याकरपद्य—The word पद्याकर is an unnecessary repetition, V. 20. नगरस्य It is a pity that the name of the city is not mentioned. It must have been, however, Girinagara. which is mentioned in the Rudradama's inscription. प्रचकार The use of प्र before चकार is clumsy. This is one more instance of the weakness of the poet in the art of versification.

V. 22 विस्मयमभ्यवेन etc. This is an obscure stanza. It is perhaps to be taken thus—यः अस्मिन् (पुरे) रनागरेषु लोकेषु अत्येन कालेन विस्मयं शशाम् । In this and preceding verses the use of यः is clumsy. Probably दितेव is the missing word before पुत्रा in line 4. V. 23 संरंजयांबभूव—The subject of this verb is यः i. e. the third line of the preceding verse. Hence the verses 22 and 23 are to be taken together. पूर्वं स्मितं This word seems to qualify आमार्यणं One way of pleasing the subjects was to converse with them with a courteous smile.

V. 24 धर्मार्थयोः The poet here suggests that Chakrapalita enjoyed pleasures suited to the times, but not transgressing his duty in respect of religion and material achievement. धर्म, अर्थ, काम are the three *purushārthas* according to the Hindu scriptures which it is the duty of a man to attain in the secular life of a householder. V, 25 मुक्ताकलाप etc. This is certainly a beautiful expression.

V. 26 भय कमेण etc. This construction of the verse is defective. This is one more instance to show that though our poet possesses poetical ideas he is very defective in ex-

pressing them. Prof. Dravid of the Sangli college construes this verse thus—अथ क्रमेण तोयदै निराधकालं प्रविदार्य अम्बुदकाले आगते (सति) (पर्जन्य or इन्द्रः) सन्ततं चिरं बहु तोयं ववर्ष येन (1 ० तोयवर्ष-येन) (स इन्द्र) सुदर्शनं विभेद । I construe the sentence thus—अथ क्रमेण अम्बुदकाले तोयदै. निराधकालं प्रविदार्य आगते (सति) बहु तोयं सन्ततं चिरं ववर्षयेन च आह्वयात् सुदर्शनं विभेद । The verbs ववर्ष and विभेद are taken by the poet as intransitive

V. 27 संवत्सराणां etc.—The lake burst in the year 100+30+6 according to the calculation of the Guptas i. e. in the year 136 of the Gupta era which has been shown to begin with 319 A. D. So the event took place in 455 A. D.

गुप्तप्रकाले Here again the use of प्र before काल is inappropriate. Some propose that the reading गुप्तस्य काले would have been better. V. 28 रेवतकात् i. e. from modern Girnar hill to the west of the town Junagadh (cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1893 p. 177). It was also called रेवताचल. It derives its name from Revate the father of Revati the wife of Baladeva Krishna's elder brother. Revata is supposed to have come there from Dwarka and lived on the hill. There is a tank called Revati Kunda near Damodar Kunda in the gorge of the hill. It may be noted that the hill was also called Ujjayanta or Ujjayati. In the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman the rivers Suvarnasikata and Palāsini are said to have risen from Ujjayati mountain which name is also mentioned in the present inscription. Our inscription states that they took their rise from the Revata. The river सिक्ताविलासिनी is the same as सुवर्णमिक्षिता mentioned in Rudradaman's inscription. Fleet and others have wrongly taken मिक्षित विलासिनी as an adjective of पलाशिनी.

V. 29 महोदधे प्रियेषुना Fleet and others have taken a wrong meaning of the phrase. They translate the verse thus—Having noticed the great bewilderment caused by the excess of rain (the mountain) Ujjayati, desirous of appropri-

ting the wives of the mighty ocean stretched forth as it were, a hand consisting of the river (Palasini) decorated with the numerous flowers that grow on the edges of its banks. They mean that taking advantage of the general confusion Urjavat wanted to outrage ocean's wives. They take the solitary river Palāsini under the figure of an outstretched arm and the other rivers under the figure of ocean's mistresses. The mountains रैवतक and उर्जयत are however one and the same, as shown above. Having, therefore, described the mountain as the source of the rivers in the preceding verse, the poet could not have suggested the same as the ravisher in the next. What is meant is that taking pity on the ocean's forlorn condition at the advent of the rainy season the mountain handed over his daughter the river decked with flowers to her husband the Ocean. See also JBBRAS Vol. II (N. S.) p. 179.

V. 30 विषाद्यमाना—Causal passive in the sense of विषादन्तः

V. 31 पुमान् हि—The lake is as it were not an inanimate object but a man. दुर्दर्शनतां make the play on the words सुदर्शन and दुर्दर्शन. V. 33 संवत्सराणां—After these two lines the first two lines in v. 35 are to be taken. All the verses from 32 to 37 are to be taken together. The sentence would stand thus—सः पितुः पशुं भार्कं प्रदर्श्य.....धनस्य अप्रमेयं व्ययं कृत्वा प्रधितं तटाकं सुदर्शनं आयामतो दस्तशतं...संवत्सराणां...प्रवेगे अग्निं सम्पृष्ठादितोपन्नेन यवम् ॥

The date of the completion of the work begun two months previously (मासद्वयेन v. 35) is given as the first day of the first (i. e. bright) half of Vaisakha of the year 137 of the (Gupta) era. V. 36 आयामतो etc. With these measurements of the lake compare those given in Rudradāman inscription. It seems that the breach of the lake was much smaller than that in the time of Rudradāman. V. 38 रथचरणसमाह्व i. e. the Chakravāka bird. V. 39. Mark that the poet himself calls this long poem a *Groutha*.

Translation.

V. 1—Victorious is (the 'god) Vishnu—the perpetual abode of (the goddess) Lakshmi, dwelling in the waterlily; the conqueror of distress; the absolutely all conquering one who, for the sake of the happiness of the lord of the gods (Indra) seized back from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is solicited (by all) for enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time.

✓ Vv. 2-3—And next (i. e. after Vishnu) stands victorious for ever Skandagupta, the supreme king of kings of great glory, the abode of good qualities, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms; and who plucked off the authority of the Garudas in the shape of his substitutes (i. e. governors) and used it as an antidote for the serpents in the shape of rival kings that are raising their heads with pride and arrogance: who when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of a friend of the gods (i. e. had departed this life), humbled his enemies, and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans, (and) full of thriving countries round its borders.

✓ V. 4—Moreover has he surely triumphed, whose glories even the enemies proclaim, in the countries of the Mlechchhas having their pride broken down to the very root.

V. 5—Whom the goddess of fortune and splendour chose of her free will as her lord, after having carefully seen and thoroughly considered all the causes of excellence and defect (in a king) in succession and after passing over all other sons of kings.

V. 6—While the king is reigning verily no one among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one

who is distressed (or) in poverty, (or) in misery, (or) avaricious, or who even worthy of punishment is overtortured.

V. 7—Thus having conquered the entire earth (and having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies (and) having appointed governors (lit. protectors) in all the countries, he cogitated in many ways

Vv. 8-11—Who is there in the circle of my dependents fit for governing who is endowed with intellect ; modest ; possessed of a disposition undeserted by grasping power and memory ; endowed with truth, straightforwardness, nobility and justness ; and possessed of sweetness, civility and fame ;—loyal ; affectionate ; endowed with special qualities of a gentleman ; and possessed of an intellect purified by all texts ; possessed of an inner soul prone to be free from obligations ; accustomed to do good to all mankind ;—who is there capable of lawfully acquiring wealth and also of preserving what is acquired and of (inventing) means of increasing what is preserved and of dispensing on worthy objects what is increased, who shall govern the entire (province) of Surāstra?

Ah ! I have it ; (there is) just one man, Parnadatta competent to take up the task.

V. 12. When the lord of kings had thus decided (about the choice) after constant thinking for many days and nights he appointed him (Parnadatta) after some entreaties for the proper protection of the land of the Surāshtras,

V. 13 Just as the gods became free from anxiety by appointing Varuna in the west, so the king was relieved in his heart (lit. possessed of equanimity), when he had appointed Parnadatta over the region of the west.

Vv. 14-18 His son, -possessed of filial devotion, his own self being as it were reduplicated through the influence of his soul, well trained by self ; control ; worthy to be protected by all means, as if it were his own self always self-possessed;

endowed with a beautiful form like that of cupid having a disposition the whole of which was always pervaded with joy through a variety of charming actions that were in accordance with (his) beauty, having a face resembling a full-blown water-lily in a bed of water-lilies the refuge of men who came to him for protection, was the same one who is renowned on the earth under the name of Chakrapāṇita who is beloved of the people, and who excelled his father by his own unimpeachable noble qualities —

In whom all these virtues abide to a marked degree without ever quitting him viz patience lordship, modesty justness and heroism without (too) great an estimation of heroism power of speech self-control, liberality, large-mindedness civility, freedom from indebtedness fulness, beauty, and correction of ignoble things absence of conceit firmness and depth.

V. 19 In the whole world there is no one to whom a comparison with his virtues may be made verily he has become in all entirety the standard of comparison for men who are endowed with virtuous qualities

V. 20 (And it was he) who appointed by his father after personally testing (the existence in him of) these same qualities mentioned above and others even higher than these accomplished the protection of (this) city in a way surpassing his predecessors.

V. 21, Who relying upon the prowess of his own two arms and on the pride of his own and not of any other man subjected no one in this city to any anxiety but at the same time punished the wicked

V. 22, Who ruled over the people together with the inhabitants in the city by maintaining confidence in a short time and who by carefully inquiring into the faults fondled the citizens (as a father does)

V. 23. *And who made his subjects happy first by conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honours by (encouraging) unrestricted mutual visits to each other's houses among his people (and) by holding domestic functions calculated to promote cordiality.*

V. 24. *Endowed with the highest sentiments of piety, affable, pure, (and) charitable in a proper way he was without any hindrance to attaining Dharma and Artha (i. e. spiritual good and economic pursuits) applied himself to such pleasures (i. e. to attaining Kāma) as can be obtained at the proper time.*

V. 25. *What wonder is there in the fact that he (born) from Parnadatta, is a just man? Can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cool like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?*

V. 26-27. *Now when in course of time the season of clouds set in tearing up the hot season by means of clouds vast quantity of water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudarśana suddenly burst on the sixth day, at night, of the month Prausthapada in a century of years increased by thirty and also six more according to the calculation of the Gupta era.*

V. 28. *And then (the rivers) which take their rise from the Raivataka mountain and this (river) Palāśini (and) Sikatāvilāsini—(all these) wives of the ocean that had remained long in detention now once again joined their lord in due accordance with (the precepts of the) scriptures.*

V. 29. *Beholding the great confusion caused by the advent of (heavy) rains (the mountain) Urjayat wishing to do good to the ocean stretched out, as it were, his arm in the form of the river adorned with a great variety of flowers along the banks.*

V. 30. *The people verily filled on all sides with dismay*

V. 23. And who made his subjects happy first by conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honours by (encouraging) unrestricted mutual visits to each other's houses among his people (and) by holding domestic functions calculated to promote cordiality.

V. 24 Endowed with the highest sentiments of piety, affable, pure, (and) charitable in a proper way he was without any hindrance to attaining Dharma and Artha (i. e. spiritual good and economic pursuits) applied himself to such pleasures (i. e. to attaining Kāma) as can be obtained at the proper time.

V. 25. What wonder is there in the fact that he (born) from Parnadatta, is a just man? Can heat ever be produced from the moon, which is cool like a string of pearls or like a waterlily?

V. 26-27 Now when in course of time the season of clouds set in tearing up the hot season by means of clouds vast quantity of water rained down unceasingly for a long time; by reason of which (the lake) Sudarśana suddenly burst on the sixth day, at night, of the month Prausthapada in a century of years increased by thirty and also six more according to the calculation of the Gupta era.

V. 28 And then (the rivers) which take their rise from the Raivataka mountain and this (river) Palāśini (and) Śikāṭāvilāśini—(all these) wives of the ocean that had remained long in detention now once again joined their lord in due accordance with (the precepts of the) scriptures.

V. 29 Beholding the great confusion caused by the advent of (heavy) rains (the mountain) Ūrjayat wishing to do good to the ocean stretched out, as it were, his arm in the form of the river adorned with a great variety of flowers along the banks.

V. 30 The people verily filled on all sides with dismay

and uttering what they should do and remaining awake the whole night began to reflect in great bewilderment,

V. 31 Here in a moment (the lake) Sudarśana has (by the overflowing of its waters) assumed an displeasing appearance towards all the people (as if it were) a man Can it ever (again) become pleasing of aspect..... having the appearance of an ocean, full of water.

V. 32-37. He having become and displaying the height of devotion towards his father for the good of the king as well as of the city and holding religion, which has auspicious results before him-in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others also..... attentive to the sacred writings

..and with a great power well known throughout the world , having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisance , having gratified the Brahmins with (presents of) riches, having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and such of (his) servants as were worthy of notice and to (his) friends with presents , acting in a respectable way and making an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, built after great efforts in a period of two months on the first day of the first half of the month Vusakhi in the year 187, the celebrated (lake) Sudarśana, not contaminated by nature, hundred cubits in length, sixty-eight cubits in breadth and seven purushas (man's height), in depth and two hundred cubits (in diameter?) with well set stones so that it should last for eternal time on the

V. 38 Now may (the lake) with its edges washed by Chakravākas, Kraunchas and swans spreading their beauty along the edges of the very firmly-built dam ...with pure water... (last) on the earth till the sun and the moon.

V. 39 And may the city also become prosperous ; full of inhabitants , cleansed from sin by prayers (of Brahman

sung by many hundreds of Brāhmanas , (and free from)
drought and famine for a hundred years.....

Thus ends the composition of the work i. e. poem on
the restoration of the lake Sudarśana.

No. 5

Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta II ?

General Remarks—This poetically very important inscription is incised on a black stone slab built into the wall of a Ghāt of the river Śiwanā in the town *Mandsor* in H. H. the Maharaja Sindia's dominions in Mālwa. A number of valuable inscriptions are found at Mandisor which shows that in ancient times it was an important place. The writing which covers a space 2' 7½" broad by 1' 4½" high is fortunately in a fair state of preservation. The latest edition of the inscription accompanied by an excellent facsimile is published in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 79 ff.

The inscription is sectarian, its object being to record the restoration of a temple of the sun at *Dasapur*, in the year 529 of the *Mālava* era, which was originally built by a guild of silk-weavers in the year 493 during the time of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I? and the local king *Bandhuvarmān*, son of *Viśvavarman*.

The contents of the inscription which consists of 44 verses can be divided into the following sections—

- 1 The *Mangala* addressed to the sun-god, vv. 6-15.
- 2 Migration of a guild of silk-weavers from the *Lata* country to *Dasapura*, vv. 4-5.
- 3 A poetic description of the town *Dasapura*, vv. 6-15
 - (a) its being a *tilaka* on the forehead of the province
 - (b) its beautiful lakes
 - (c) its gardens,

- (d) its lofty houses
 - (e) its being surrounded by two rivers
 - (f) its **Brahmanas**
 - (g) its happy citizens
- 4 Description of the different locations taken by the silk-weavers and of their good qualities vv. 16-21.
 - 5 Their anxiety for doing something for spiritual good v. 22
 - 6 The rule of the suzerain **Kumāragupta** v. 23.
 - 7 The same of the local rulers **Visvavarman** and his son **Bandhuvarman**. v. 24-28
 - 8 The building of a sun-temple by the guild of silk-weavers in the time of **Bandhuvarman** vv. 24-28.
 - 9 The season-winter-and the date **Malava Samvat** 493 of its building v. 31-35.
 - 10 The restoration of the temple damaged in the meanwhile vv. 36-38
 - 11 The date M. S. 529 and the season-spring-of its restoration v. 39-41
 - 12 A comparison of the temple with the moon and the *Kausthubha mani* v. 42
 - 13 Wish for the long life of the temple v. 43
 - 14 The name **Vatsabhṛti** of the poet who composed the inscription v. 44

Historical value of the record—V 23 of the inscription records the name of the suzerain **Kumāragupta** and v. 29 records the name of **Bandhuvarman** the king of **Dasapura** (or **mandsora**) where the temple was built. The suzerain **Kumāragupta** is no doubt **Kumāragupta I**, the Gupta emperor who was the son of **Chandragupta II**. The local king **Bandhuvarman** is only said to have been the son of

Viśvavarman. Nothing more is stated of him. The poet thus seems to have mentioned the names of the rulers at the time of building the temple in M. S. 493 (437 A D) but he does not mention the name of any ruler at time of rebuilding the temple and of the composition of the inscription in the year 529 of the Mālava era. Such a procedure is uncommon. The inscriber generally gives the name of the ruler in whose time the inscription is composed. The locative absolute phrase *कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशसति* in v. 23 should therefore be taken in connection with the incident of repairing the temple and not of building the temple for the first time. Then we may say that the temple was built when Bandhuvarman, son of Viśvavarman was ruling at Daśapur, in M. S. 493. But at the time of rebuilding the temple in M. S. 529 after 36 years from the first incident there might not have been a local ruler of Daśapura and hence the name of the sovereign king Kumārāgupta is mentioned by the poet. Kumārāgupta, who was ruling in M. S. 529, must evidently be Kumārāgupta II. A third suggestion is that the poet might have meant to take the locative absolute phrase *कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशसति* in v.23 with reference to both the incidents—of building the temple in 493 and of repairing it in 529 on both the incidents the sovereign king bore the same name Kumārāgupta. (On this point see Mr. Pannalal's article in the *Hindusthan Review* Jan. 1918 and Mr. Banerji's article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* Vol. I. i. p. 79 and my own article in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. II (N. S.) p. 176. *Date of the inscription*—The inscription clearly states that the sun-temple was repaired by the guild of silk weavers on the second day of the bright half of the month Phālguna, in M. S. 529. The inscription must have been composed and set up at the same time. The year 529 of the Mālava Samvat which is known to be the same as Vikrama Sam. is 473 A. D. *Poetical value of the inscription*—The chief interest of the inscription lies in its being a very beautiful little *Kāvya* which places its author Vatsabhaddi in line with the

best of Sanskrit poets. It is a pity that of Vatsalhatti no other work than this inscription is known to us and no where in the vast Sanskrit literature do we find him mentioned as is the case also with *Harishena*, the gifted poet of the Allahabad *prashasti*. Dr Buhler has done a great service to students of Sanskrit literature by showing the beauty of this composition in an article which is copied in full in the Appendix.

Metres used in the poem—शाद्वेलेवेकोदित व 1 and 2
 वधन्ततिलक व 3, 5 6 11, 14 18 20 22, 25 27 30 31 32 and
 40 आर्या व 4 13, 21, 33 38 39, 41 and 42 उप द्रवजा व 7, 8 9
 and 24 ; उपजाति व 10 12 and 42 हुतादिलवित व 15 हरिणा
 व 16 ; इन्द्रवज्रा व 17 and 26 ; मालिनी व 19 and 40 वशस्थ
 व 23 वशस्तिलक व 27 ; मन्दाक्रान्ता व 29 and श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ)
 व 34 35 37 and 44

Notes V 3 क्षीयागना—See Buhler's criticism in App for this comparison of the reddish morning (or evening) sun with the rendered cheeks of a drunken woman. **V 4 विहार**—Fleet takes the word in the sense of a monastery. In the time of this inscription there may have been some Buddhist monasteries in southern Gujarat but the poet does not seem to refer to them in the verse the word is to be taken in its literal sense i.e. pleasure-resorts. **लटविषय** Generally the southern part of modern Gujarat, viz. the Districts of Broach Surat and Navasari was called by the name of लट in ancient times the central part of modern Gujarat was also included in Lat. **V 9 स्वपुष्पमार** etc.—The same idea is formerly expressed in l 3 of 6th verse मद्यप्रगल्भारि—This same idea is repeated in v 32 l 2 व 41 l 1. **V 9 भाति** In v 9 10 and 12 the word भाति is to be taken as understood. **V. 10 हुदयोपमा** mark the tautology. **V 12 घरा विद्वार्य**—The idea is that the houses had as it were come out from the nether world an idea which is not a happy one but is found sometimes in Sanskrit literature.

ture. V. 19 श्रेणि guild. In ancient India, different craftsmen were organised. V. 20 अचरां—in secret. V. 21 The significance of this verse is probably two fold. The silk-weavers supplied the whole world with beautiful silken cloths and were themselves the best ornaments (as described in the previous verse) of this earth. V. 24—गोप्ता—The word in ancient times seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning a governor. V. 26 It is better to suppose that the verb बभूव is understood here. V. 27 मदैःस्मयाद्यैः—here again there is a tautology. V. 33 विपुलकान्त etc. The adjectives विपुल, कांत and पीन are to be taken with उरु, स्तन and जघन V. 34. मालवानां गणस्थित्या—Dr. Fleet takes the word स्थिति to mean स्थापना and translates the phrase as 'by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas.' But according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Bhandarkar Comm. mon Vol p 191*) the word स्थिति here means 'usage' and the phrase must be translated as according to the usage of the Mālava tribe. He says that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the foundation of the Vikrama era in which their records are dated. The old name of the era is found to be कृतं whatever it means. The connection of the Mālavas with the era was only with regard to the system of reckoning tithis and thereby the years of the era. सैव्यघनस्तने—Fleet takes the reading स्तने, Buhler reads स्तने instead of स्तने, Buhler's reading seems to be better.

V. 35 सहस्र i. e. Pausha. Mark that the month when the temple was repaired is called तपस्य i. e. Phalgunā.

V. 38 नमःसृशन्—सृशन् is the nominative singular of the masculine; whereas the neuter सृशत् in apposition with गृहं is 'what is required,' This however would not suit the metre. Hence the poet has allowed this mistake to stand.

V. 41 मधुपान etc. This idea is expressed thrice in the poem. V. 43 भमलिन...तावदस्तु—Strictly speaking the poet

ought to have used a verse in honour of the sun like the one in v. 27 p. 24, **सूर्यो**—The same word is used in no 8 and 13

Translation.

V. 1. May the Sun, the cause of the 'origin and destruction of the world protect you—who is worshipped by the hosts of gods for the sake of their maintenance and by the Siddhas who wish for higher accomplishments (and) by the yogis entirely given to meditation (and) having the objects of their desire under their control as they long for liberation and by sages practising with devotion strict penances, who are able to curse or to offer blessings. **V. 2.** Bow to that sun—whom (even) the Brahminical sages, though knowing the truth fail to comprehend even after, exerting themselves, who nourishes the three worlds with (his) rays scattered in all directions, who, as he rises is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras and men, and who fulfills the desires of his devotees. **V. 3.** May that Sun, decorated with glorious beams, protect you,—who shines brightly day after day with the mass of (his) rays flowing down over the expansive and lofty summit of the lordly mountain of the East (and) who is reddish like the surface of the cheeks of an intoxicated woman **Vv 4-5** From the district of **Lāta** which is pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers and with temples, assembly—halls and pleasure gardens (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation, to (this) city of **Daśapura** there came, full of respect,—first, in thought and afterwards (in person) in a band, together with (their) children and kinsmen,—men who were renowned in the world for (skill in their) craft (of silk-weaving) and who, being manifestly attracted by the virtues of the king of the country, not minding the continuous discomforts caused by the journey and its accompaniments. **V. 6** And in course

(of time) this (city) became the forehead decoration of the earth, which is adorned with a thousand mountains whose rocks are besprinkled with the drops of rut that trickle down from the sides of the temples of rutting elephants, (and) which has for (its) decorative (ear)crests the trees weighed down with flowers. V. 7 Where the lakes, crowded with *Karandava*-ducks, look beautiful (lit shine) having the water close to (their) banks made variegated with the various flowers fallen down from the trees growing on the banks, (and) being adorned with blowing waterlilies. V. 8 (Where) in some places the lakes look beautiful (at shine) with the swans that are tawny brown by pollen fallen from the lotuses shaken by the tremulous waves; and in other places with the water-lilies bent down by the great burden of their filaments.

V. 9 Where the groves look beautiful being adorned with lordly trees bending under the burden of their flowers and are full of the humming of the flights of bees wild with intoxication and with the city women walking for pleasure and singing perpetually, V. 10, Where the houses look beautiful with flying flags, with a number of tender women and with very white towers rising higher resembling the peaks of white clouds variegated with flashes of lightening.

V. 11, And where other houses look beautiful with long terraces and stone seats (and thus) resembling the lofty summits of the mountain) Kailasa; resounding with musical sounds; having pictured representations arranged (in them); (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain trees.

V. 12, Where the houses look beautiful, which are decorated with rows of storeys that have, as it were, risen up by cleaving asunder the earth and thus resembling the rows of aerial chariots; (and) which are as pure as the rays of the full moon. V. 13 This (city) looks beautiful by being surrounded (lit. embraced) by two charming rivers, with tremulous waves, as if it were the body of the cupid (embraced)

in secrecy by (his wives) Priti and Rati possessed of having breasts V 14 Like the sky with its multitudes of glowing planets it shines with Brahmanas endowed with truthfulness forgiveness, self-control mental quietude, austerities purity, courage Vedic studies straightforwardness modesty steadfastness and intelligence the repositories of learning and penance (and yet) free from pride V 15 So, coming together (and) having their friendship augmented more and more every day by often coming in contact (with each other) and being gratified and treated honourably like sons by the kings they happily lived in the city V. 16 Some of them became very competent in the science of archery, (in which the twanging of the bow is) pleasing to the ear others, devoted themselves to hundreds of excellent achievements, some (became) acquainted with wonderful tales and others unassuming in (their) modesty (and) devoted to discourses of the true religion (became) able to say much that was free from harshness (and yet was) salutary V. 17 Some excelled in their own business (of silk-weaving) and by others, possessed self confidence the science of astrology was mastered, and others courageous in war even today effect by force the destruction of (their) enemies V 18 Similarly others wise possessed of attractive wives (and) belonging to a famous and high lineage, shine others by actions proper to their lineage keeping a vow of truthfulness careful to oblige those that are attached to them with the accompaniment of confidence, are skilled in conferring favours upon (their) intimates

V 19 (And so) the guild shines gloriously all around through those who are of this sort, and through others who have overcome their attachment for worldly objects and are given to works of piety who are soft in their mind and are possessed of much goodness—and are (thus) very gods in an earthly habitation

Vv 20-21 (Just as) a woman though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of

golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers does not go to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths.—(so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them, (as if) with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with divisions of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye. **V. 22** Having reflected that the world is very unsteady, like the moving by wind of the charming sprout and ear-ornaments, of the Vidyadhars ; (and similarly) the life of a man and also the vast stores of wealth, their mind became steady and inclined towards virtue. **V. 28** While **Kumāragupta** was reigning over the (whole) earth, whose moving girdle is the verge of the four oceans; whose high breasts are (the mountains) Sumeru and Kailāsa (and) whose smile are the blowing flowers showered forth from the borders of the woods ;—

V. 24 There was a governor (lit protector) (named) king **Viśvavarman**, who was equal in wisdom to Sukra and Brihaspati, who was the ornament of the king on the earth ; (and) whose deeds in war were equal to (those of) Pārtha;—

V. 25 Who was very compassionate to the unhappy ; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed who was very kind; (and) who was a very tree of plenty to (his) friends, and the 'giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (his) countrymen. **V. 26** His son (was) King **Bandhuvarman** endowed with firmness and uprightness loved ; by (his) kinsmen; a brother as it were, to (his) subjects; the remover of the sufferings of (his) relations ; the only skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies.

V. 27 Who was handsome, youthful, dexterous in war, and endowed with modesty, king though he was, yet was he never carried away by passion, arrogance, and other (evil sentiments); the very incarnation of erotic passion and though unadorned with ornaments he was as it were a second cupid.

V 28 Even today when the beautiful long-eyed wives of (this) enemies afflicted with the severe pangs of widowhood think of him a tremour & caused torturing their compact breasts with fear.

V 29 While he the noble Bandhuvvarman, the best of kings the high shouldered one, was governing this city of Dasapura which was well prospering a grand (and) incomparable temple of the (Sun) was caused to be built by the silk-cloth weavers that had formed into a guild with the stores of wealth acquired by their craft —

V 30 (The temple) which having broad and lofty spires (and) resembling a mountain, (and) white like the mass of the rays of the moon that has risen up shines charming to the eye and comparable the lovely and wellset crest jewel of (this) city of the West

Vv 31-33 In that season which unites men with lovely women which is pleasant on account of the feeble rays of the sun and the warmth of fire when the fish lie low down in the water when the rays of the moon the top floors of houses sandal ointment palm fans and necklaces afford no enjoyment when the water-lilies are burnt down by frost which is lovely by the humming of the bees rejoiced by the juice of the full-blown flowers of the *rodhra* and *priyangu* plants and the jasmine-creepers when the solitary branches of the *lavali* and *nagana* trees dance freely with the force of wind cold with particles of frost and harsh wherein the falling of the frost and snow is uncared for by the close embraces of the massive thighs the lovely breasts and the bulky hips of their beloveds by young men completely under the influence of love when for hundred added by ninety three years had passed according to the usage of the Malava tribe In the season when massive breasts (of women) are (most) enjoyable (सेव्यवत्सल) or when the low thunder

of the clouds is most welcome *सेव्यधनस्वने*), on the auspicious thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Sahasya —this temple was consecrated with the ceremony of auspicious benediction.

Vv. 36-37 In the course of a long time under other kings part of this temple fell into disrepair; so now in order to increase their own fame the whole of this very grand temple fell into disrepair; so now in order to increase their own fame the whole of this very grand temple of the sun has been repaired again by the very charitable guild, (in such a way that it became) very stately (and) pure, touching the sky as it were, with (its) carming spires, (and) being the resting-place of the spotless rays of the moon and the sun at the time of their rising. **V. 39.** When five centuries of years increased by twenty and nine years had elapsed; on the second day of the bright fortnight of the pleasant month Tapasya, in (V. 40-41) In the season when cupid whose body was destroyed by Hara develops (his number of five) arrows by attaining unity with the fresh bursting forth of the flowers of the *asoka* tree and *kelaka* and *sinduvāra*-trees, and the pendulous *alimuktaka*-creeper, and the wild jasmine; (41) when the solitary large branches of the *nagana* tree are full of the humming of the swarms of gratified bees by drinking honey; (and) when the beautiful and luxuriant *rodhra*-trees swing (to and fro) with the fresh bursting forth of flowers.

V. 42 The whole of this noble city is adorned with (this) best of temples. just as the pure sky is adorned with the moon, and the breast of (the god) Śārṅgin with the *kaustubha*-jewel **V. 43** As long as (the god) Ś is a wears a mess of tawny matted locks, charming like the spotless rays of the moon (on his forehead); and (as long as) (the god) Śārṅgin (wears) a garland of lovely lotuses on his shoulder; — so long may this stately temple endure for ever !

V. 44 By the command of the guild, and owing to (their) devotion, (this) temple of the sun was caused to be built, and this (prāsta) that precedes was, with particular care, composed by Vatsabhātti. Hail to the composer and the writer, and to those who read or listen (to it) ! Let there be success.

No. 6

Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasodharman.

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved on a magnificent monolith column of good sandstone—probably raised as a *Ranustambha*—found in a field at a short distance from the town Mandasor in Central India. The writing covers a space 3' 2½" broad by 1' 2½" high and consists of nine lines engraved in beautiful characters. The inscription is edited last by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 33 pp. 142 ff. A duplicate copy of this inscription is engraved on another column found in the same place. (See *F. G. I.* No 34)

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to narrate the erection of a column for the purpose of reciting the glory and power of a great king named Yasodharman. It can be thus summarised—

In the first verse the god Śiva (Śūlapāṃ) is invoked. The next seven verses extol the high qualities and the warlike deeds of a powerful king named Yasodharman. The name of the family to which he belonged is not given. The second and the third verses state that the earth afflicted by the evil ways of other kings went to him for help and that he was like Manu, Bharata etc. The fourth verse states that he possessed countries, which not even the Guptas and the Hūnas could subdue. It further states that his dominions included the whole of N-India from the river Lauhitya (i. e. Brahmaputra) to the W. Ocean and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendra. The fifth verse records that even the powerful king Mihirakula had to do homage to him. The sixth and

seventh verses state in a poetic way that a column was raised by him-evidently the one inscribed with this inscription-to recite his glory. The last verse of the record gives the name Vāsula of the poet who composed the inscription. In the post script the name of the engraver, Govinda, is given.

Historical value of the inscription:— It is an unfortunate thing that of the lineage of Yaśodharman, the hero of this *prāśasti* nothing is known either from this or from any other inscription. From his description it seems that he was a very powerful King, who held countries which not even the Gupta emperors nor the Huna Kings could subdue. His Kingdom is said to have extended from the river Lauhitya to the Western Ocean and from the Himalaya mountains to the mountain Mahendra. From the following inscription (No. 7 below) which also refers to this king it seems that he was also called Vishnuvardhana and that his royal insignia was Aulikara, the meaning of which is not clear.

Another important point of history which our inscription states is that the great Huna king Mihirakula was severely defeated by Yasodharman. There is another account given by the Chinese pilgrim Hieuen Tsiang according to which a king of Magadha named Balāditya defeated Mihirakula. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to which of these two statements is correct. They evidently suppose that these statements refer to the final defeat of the Huna chief. Some scholars suppose that the statement of the Chinese pilgrim who wrote in later times on second hand hearsay information may be set aside and the credit of defeating Mihirakula must be given only to Yasodharman. 'If Yaśodharman' to quote Dr. J. J. Modi (*Bhandarker Commem.* Vol. p. 67) 'had not been

has written last on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. III p. 1) proposes that Mihirakula trying to enlarge the frontiers of his kingdom was met in Malva with Yaśodharman and was thoroughly routed and driven back north-wards. This disaster encouraged Narasimhagupta alias Bālāditya of Magadh, one of his tributary chiefs to throw off his allegiance. Mihirakula tried to punish him but was severely defeated by Bālāditya. He thus means to say that Mihirakula was defeated by the two rulers at different times and both the accounts therefore of his defeat are correct.

— *Date of the inscription:*— The inscription is not dated but the engraver of this inscription and that of the following inscription which is expressly dated as M. S. 589 i. e. 532 A. D. is the same namely Govinda. In the next inscription Yaśodharman is said to have conquered many kings in the east and the north and to have assumed the title of an emperor; but it does not record the important victory of Yaśodharman over Mihirakula. Hence it seems that the present inscription is later than the inscription of V. S. 589 (532 A. D.)

Poetical value of the inscription:— The poetry of the inscription can be said to be on the whole good. The poet Vāsula no doubt seems to have possessed high power of imagination. Instances of this are the first half of the seventh verse and the latter half of the eighth verse. His language is, however, stiff and the selection of words in many places is not happy.

The metres used in the inscription:— Only two metres are used by the poet: one *सप्तमि* in the first eight verses and the other *श्लोक* (*अनुष्टुप्*) in the last i. e. ninth verse.

Notes—V. 1 *यस्य* qualifies *स्तनित्* in the following phrase. The whole is not a good phrase. *सुमेगे*:—As ordinary bulls pierce the ordinary hillocks the heavenly bull of the god Siva strikes by his horns the mountain *meru* *पञ्चकुण्डलं*—A mark

of five fingers dipped into red powder was regarded auspicious. This expression occurs very frequently in Harshacharita of 2nd Uchchhvārb 9th para and 4th Uchchhvāsa.

V. 2 शङ्केपाणेरेव—It is a common belief that whenever the earth is afflicted by evil persons she goes to Vishnu for help.

V. 3 कल्पना etc—The exact meaning of the phrase is not clear.

नावभावे—The negative participle न has to be taken with

प्रयुक्तः and not with अवभावे. पांसुसु—The comparison is inappropriate.

सम्राट्—A technical title of a sovereign who rules over kings and sometimes has performed the Rājastaya sacrifice.

V. 3 मनु, मत्त (son of Dushyanta) अलर्क and मान्धातु

were the great emperors of mythical India. cf *Kādambari Purva*, para 122 of Kane's edition, एते हि चतुर्दशिजलवगाहनदुर्ललितबलम-

शालिषा दशरथमगोरथभरतादिलोपालर्कमान्धातुप्रतिमाः etc भरत and मान्धातु

are two of the seven Chakravartīs. For मान्धातु see Ramāyana, uttara, chap 67 and Vishnu P. IV. 2 For अलर्क see Vishnu P.

IV 8. 8. V. 4 गुप्तनाथैः At the time of the Gupta emperor Chand

ragupta I the dominions of the Guptas were confined to Prayāga, Saketa and Magadha only. But Samudragupta extended his kingdom so much that it included the whole of Nor-

thern India. His son Chandragupta II further acquired the western territories of Malva, Gujarat and Kathiawad by defe-

ating and putting an end to the Kshatrāpa dynasty in the west. His son Kumāragupta and Skandagupta at least main-

tained their sway over this whole kingdom. But after Skanda-

gupta the Gupta emperor ceased to possess any power over the western countries including Mālva where Yasodharman was

ruling. It seems that the inscription refers to the rule of these later Gupta rulers. Otherwise the statement cannot be applica-

ble in the case of the early Gupta sovereigns who did hold vast territories. The description in the inscription is very much

exaggerated. हुनाधिपना This must refer to the Huna kings Toramana and Mihirakula. The latter is mentioned in the

v. 6 of the inscription. We have no sufficient knowledge of the extent of the kingdom of these kings. An inscription of Toramana is found at Eran in C. P. and one of Mihirakula. Tormana's son, is found at Gwalior. We have, therefore to suppose that the Huna Kings held territories of eastern Malva and a part of C. P. Now since western Malva or the territory held by Yasodharman was not under the Huna kings the statement in the inscription is found to be correct.

V. 5 **आलौहित्य**—*Laubitya* is the other name of the river *Brahmaputra*. **आमहेन्द्र**—It is doubtful whether this denotes the famous Mahendragiri or Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam District among the eastern Ghats or another mountain of the same name not so well known among the western Ghats. **सुहिन शिखरिणः**—of one having snowy peaks i. e. the Himalaya mountain. V 6. **स्थाणो...येन** Fleet takes this to refer to Yasodharman but the construction of the verse makes us take it with Mihirakula. The construction stands thus—**येन स्थाणारेन्यत्र प्रणतिकृपणतां उत्तमाग न प्रापितं, यस्य भुजाभ्यां आश्लिष्टो हिमगिरिः दुर्गेशद्व्यभिमानं न वहति तेन मिहिरकुलेन अपि यस्य (यशोधर्मण) पादयुग्मं अर्चनं ।** It will be noted that we have to supply in connection with वहति in the second *śloka* the negative participle न

V. 7 **यशोधर्मणा**—The form *dharmān* is not of frequent occurrence as the form *varman* is. **स्वकीर्तिः**—The genitive is in the sense of dative i. e. स्वकीर्ति दिव मागं निर्देष्टु.

V 8 **नियमितं नामना लोकवृत्तं**—i. e. अमुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति. Controlled by him the conduct of mankind does not swerve from the right course.

Yasodharman to the effect that—"His birth took place in a praiseworthy lineage; there is seen in him a charming behaviour that is destructive of sin; he is the abode of religion; (and) the (good) customs of mankind continue unimpeded as regulated by him".

V. 9 From a desire thus to praise this king of meritorious actions, (these) verses have been composed by **Vasula**, the son of **Kakka**. This eulogy has been engraved by **Govinda**.

No. 7

Mandasor Stone inscription of **Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhana**.

General Remarks—This inscription engraved beautifully on a black stone tablet was found in an old well of **Mandasor** in **Malva** in Central India. The inscribed portion measures 1'10" broad by 1'5" high and contains 25 lines of writing. It was edited last by Dr. Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions* No. 35. The inscription is not sectarian its object being to record the construction of a large well by a person named **Daksha**, younger brother of **Dharmadosha**, who was a minister of the emperor **Yasodharman-Vishnuvardhan**, in memory of his (**Daksha's**) deceased uncle **Abhayadatta**, evidently in **Mandasor** where the inscription was found.

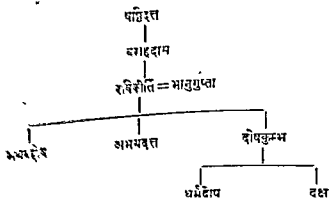
The contents of the inscription can be thus divided—

- 1 *Mangala* addressed to the god **Siva** vv. 1—3.
- 2 *Mangala* addressed to the god of water, v. 4.
- 3 Description of **Yasodharman**, also called **Vishnuvardhan**; vv. 5—9.
- 4 Description of his servant named **Shashthidatta** of **Naigama** family, vv. 10—11.
- 5 His son was **Varāhadāsa** v. 12.
- 6 His son was **Ravikīrti**; vv. 13—14.
- 7 His wife was **Bhānuguptā**, who bore three sons v. 15

- 8 The eldest of the sons was Bhagavat dosha who was minister of the king whose dominions extended from the Vindhya to the Pariyatra mountain and the Sindhu river. vv. 16-21.
9. His younger brother Daksha ($\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ Nirdosha) dug a well vv 22-23.
10. In the year M S 589 v. 24.
- 11 In the season of spring vv 25-26.
12. Wish for the long life of the well v 27.
13. Wish for the long life of Daksha v 28.

In the postscript the name of the engraver, Govinda, is given. The *historical* points found from the inscription are, as noted in the previous inscription, the mention of Yaśodharman in the fifth verse. He is undoubtedly the same king mentioned in the previous inscription. In the following i. e. the sixth verse another king named Vishnuvardhan is mentioned. His family badge was Aulikara and after defeating several kings in the east and north he acquired the imperial titles—Rajadhiraja and Paramēśvara. There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Vishnuvardhan being mentioned after Yaśodharman, was the successor or the feudatory of Yaśodharman or is identical with Yaśodharman. But it seems that the last supposition is correct. From the preceding inscription it seems that Yaśodharman was a very powerful king who held vast territories and was no doubt an emperor. In the present inscription Vishnuvardhan is said to have defeated many kings and acquired imperial titles this denotes that his predecessor was an ordinary king. But if Yaśodharman was his predecessor he had no reason for being proud of his conquests. He cannot also be feudatory of Yaśodharman. For he holds imperial titles and is the actual ruler of Mandasor where, as the preceding inscription denotes Yaśodharman was ruling. For one would rather raise a pillar of victory in his

is peculiar and is not according to the rules of Pāṇini as is विनय in v. 5. भौतिकर—The meaning of this term is not clear. Fleet infers (*Gupta Inscriptions* p 151 n. 4) that it may denote either 'the hot-rayed (sun)' or 'the cool-rayed (moon)'. लाञ्छन—'crest' is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajās* or banners. V. 9 धूसरेण—cf राम धूसरेण in *Kṛtārjunīyam* XVI, 7. पर्ववृत्त etc. i. e. looked at from the wrong side of the feathers. V. 11 भैरवनां—The genealogy of this family as given and the record is as follows—



V. 15 इन्निभुज etc.—Like the (three) sacrificial fires, of *Raghuvamśa* XV, 35, where the three brothers of Rāma are described as त्रेतामितेजसः मानुगुप्ता—Fleet suggests, (*Gopla Inscriptions* p. 152) that she might be a sister of the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta as the coincidence of name and time favour us to do. In those times Brāhmanas could marry Kshatriya girls. V. 17 विदुर An epic hero, the younger brother of Dhritrāshtra and Pandu, described as the wisest of all prudent and sagacious people. V. 19 राजस्थानीयकृत्या—The explanation of the word राजस्थानीय in Kshemendra's *Lokaṭrakāśa*, IV, as given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* V, 207) is प्रजापालनार्थं उद्दहर्ता रक्षयिणि च स राजस्थानीयः he who carries out the object of protecting subjects, and shelters them is called a राजस्थानीय i. e. a viceroy. But sometimes the word denotes an ordinary official in inscriptions (See *F. G. I.* p. 157, n. 1) V. 21 बाहुछेय—a bull. The word is not generally met with in dictionaries खसुखमनमिवाद्यन् i. e. not seeing his own comfort, असंगा धुरं—Kielhorn takes it as equivalent to अप्रतिषंधां meeting with no obstruction of Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa* III, 63. V. 22 रक्षामण्डन—Synonymous with रक्षामूषण ornament or amulet worn for protection (against evil spirits etc.) ज्ञातिरत्नैः The reading ज्ञाति for जति was suggested by Dr. Kielhorn cf ज्ञातिवृद्धः in *Raghuvamśa* XVII, 12. निर्दोषनाम—The poet intends that the word is to be taken both as a proper name and as an adjective. V. 24 मालत्रयमणिरिति वशात्—See note on v. 34 of No 7 above.

Translation.

V. 1 Victorious is he, (the god) Pinakin, the lord of (all) the worlds, the splendour of whose teeth (displayed) in smiles, talks and songs, and resembling the lustre of lightning sparkling in the night, envelopes and brings into full view (all) this universe. V 2 May he, (the god) Sambhu, confer many

blessings on you—employed by whom in the work of production, preservation, and destruction of (all) beings, (the god) Srayambhu carries his commands, for the sake of the maintenance of (all) the worlds, and by whom, raising him to dignity in the world, he has been brought to the condition of being the father (of the universe). V. 3 May the serpent of the creator of the world accomplish the destruction of your suffering—(that serpent) the multitude of whose foreheads, bowed down by being overcome with the heavy weight of the jewels in (their) hoods, obscures the radiance of the moon (on his master's forehead (and) who (with the folds of his body) binds fast on (his master's) head the chaplet of bones which is full of holes. V. 4 May the creator of waters (i. e. the ocean) which was dug out by the sixty thousand sons of Sagara (and) which possesses a lustre like (that of) the sky, preserve for a long time the glories of the master of this well. V. 5 Now victorious is that king named Yaśodharman who having plunged into the army of (his) enemies as into a grove of thorn-apple trees (and) having bent down the reputations of heroes like the tender plants and creepers, effects the adornment of (his) body with the fragments of sprouts in the form of wounds (inflicted on him).

V. 6 And, again, victorious over the earth is that famous king, Vishnuvardhana, the conqueror in war, by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara* crest, has been brought to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher.

V. 7 By him, having brought into subjection with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many (kings) of the north, this second name of 'supreme king of kings and supreme lord' pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment has been adopted. V. 8 Through him, having conquered the earth with (his own) arm, many countries,—in which the sun

is obscured by the smoke resembling dense dark-blue clouds, of the oblations of the sacrifices (and) which abound with thick and thriving crops through (the god Varuna) Maghavan pouring water from the clouds at proper times, (and) in which the ends of the sprouts of the mango-trees in the parks are eagerly plucked in joy by the hands of wanton women-enjoy the happiness of having a (good) king

V 9 Through the dust grey like the hide of an ass stirred up by whose armies (their) banners lifted on high (and) whose infuriated elephants have by their tusks tossed out the Lodhra treea and which have made the crevices of the Vindhya mountains resonant with their noise on their way through the forests, the orb of the sun appears dark (and) dull-ayed as if it were an eye in a peacock's tail reversed

V 10 There was Shasthidatta a servant of the best of kings who were founders of a family - whose good fame was known through his resorting to the feet of the lord who by his own resoluteness had conquered the six enemies (and) who was indeed very prosperous

V 11 As the torrent of (the river) Ganga flowing high and low (spreads abroad) from (the mountain) Himavat, (and) the great expanse of the waters of (the river) Revā from the moon (so) from him whose dignity was manifested there spreads a pure race of Naigamas most worthy to be sought in fellowship

V 12 A son was born to him from a wife of good family who resembled him (in good qualities) and was the source of fame whom (being called) Varhadisa (and) being self controlled (and) of great worth people say as if he were an (incarnate) portion of (the god) Hari

V 13 Like the sun the high summit of a mountain Ravikirti with the greatness of his soul illumined that family which was eminent in being the abode of men who perform good actions which had its foundations well established in the earth (and) which maintained a very firm position that

was free from (any risk of) being broken V 14 (Ravikirti) by whom, sustaining the pure (and) undeviating path of traditional law that is acceptable to good people, nobility of birth was not falsified (even) in the Kali age. V. 15. From him (his) chaste wife Bhānuguptā gave birth to three sons who dispelled the darkness (of ignorance) with the rays of (their) intellects as if (she had produced three) sacrificial fires. V. 16. The first (of them) was Bhagavaddoṣha, the support of his brethren in the paths of (religious) actions, just as Uddhava (was) of the Andhakas. V. 17. Who was Vedhas having intricate ways of finding out the meaning (of words) ; who like Vidura, always looked far ahead with deliberation, (and) who is with great pleasure sung of by poets in Sanskrit and Prakrit constructions of the arrangement of sentences as being well versed in speech. V. 18. And after him there came that (well known) Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position on the earth, (and) collecting (in order to dispel it) the fear of (his) subjects (?) ;—by whose eye of intellect, resembling the eyes of a spy, no trifle, however remote, remained undetected, (even) at night ;— V. 19. (Abhayadatta), of fruitful actions who like (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the gods, to the advantage of those who belonged to the (four) castes, with the functions of a Rājasthāniya (or viceroy protected the region, countries presided over by his own upright counsellors, which lies between the *Vindhya* (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) *Revā*, and the mountain *Parīyātra*, on which the trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long tailed monkeys (and which stretches) from the (river) Sindhu. V 20. Now he, Dharmadoṣha, the son of Doṣhakumbha, by whom, this kingdom has been made as if (it were still) in the Kṛita-age, free from any intermixture of all the castes, and peaceable and undisturbed by care bears in accordance with justice the great yoke of government that had (previously) been borne by him

(i. e. Doshakṛti) V 21 Who not seeing his own comforts (and) bearing for the sake of his lord, in the difficult path (of administration), the burden (of government), very heavily weighted and not shared by another, wears royal apparel only as a mark of distinction (and not for his own pleasure), just as a bull wears a wrinkled and too lengthy dew-lap V 22 His dexterous younger brother, *Dakṣha*—by excellent relatives invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, being as it were (Dharmadosha's) broad shouldered (right) arm to which excellent relatives had fastened a beneficial ornament to guard (against evil spirits) who bore a faultless name, that causes great joy to the ear and heart,—caused to be excavated this large well V 23 This great (and) skilful work was achieved here by him, possessed of great intellect for the sake of his beloved paternal uncle, Abhayadatta, who was cut off by the mighty (god) Kṛtānta, just as if he were a tree the shade of which is first to be resorted to for pleasure (and) which yields fruits that are salutory and sweet through ripeness, destroyed by a lordly elephant V 24-25 Five hundred autumns, together with ninety less by one having elapsed according to the established usage of the tribal constitution of the *Mālavas* (and) being written down for the determination (lit. knowledge) of time in the season in which the songs, of the cuckoos, whose utterances are low and tender, cleave open, as it were, the minds of those who are far away from home like the arrows of (Cupid) and in which the hummings of the the flights of bees, sounding low on account of the burden (that they carry) is heard through the wood, like the resounding bow of (the god Kamadeva) who has the banner of flowers, when its string is stretched wide, in the season in which there is the month when flowers burst forth, when the wind soothing the affectionate (but) perverted thoughts of proud women who are angry with their lovers, as if they were charming fresh sprouts arrayed in colours devotes itself to breaking down (their) pride,—in that season this (well)

was caused to be constructed. V. 27. As long as the ocean, embracing with (its) lofty waves, as if with long arms, the orb of the moon, which has its full assemblage of rays (and is more) lovely (than ever) from contact (with the waters), maintains friendship (with it), so long let this excellent well endure, possessing a (wheel) moving around the edge of the masonry work, which resembles a garland of skulls (and) discharging pure waters the flavour of which is like that of nectar. V 28. May this Daksha protect religion for a long time he who is intelligent, polite, true to (his) promises, modest, brave attentive to old people, grateful, full of energy and unwearied in the the works of (his) lord, (and) faultless. (This eulogy) has been engraved by Govinda.

No. 8.

Haraha Stone Inscription of Isanavarman.

General Remarks—This inscription incised nicely on a stone slab was found at Harāhā, in the Barābānki District in U. P. and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum Lucknow. The inscribed portion measures 2'2½" by 1'4½" and consists of 22 lines. Mr. Hirananda Śastri has edited the inscription with a facsimile in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIV p-115.

The contents of the inscription can be arranged in the following sections—

- 1 Praise of the god Bhavā (i. e. Śiva), the destroyer of the demons Tripura and Andhaka: vv. 1 and 2.
- 2 The Mukharas were descended from the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got from Vaivasvata. (Yama) v. 3.
- 3 Harivarman was the first of them, who was also called Jvalāmukha vv. 4 and 5.

- 4 His son was Ādityavarman. vv. 6 and 7.
 5 His son was Isānavarman who is highly praised
 vv. 8-19.
 i He conquered the lord of the Andhras, the
 Sulikas, and the Gaudas v 13
 ii He had a son named Suryavarman. v. 16
 6 Isānavarman rebuilt an old temple of Śiva under
 the name of Kshemeśvara v. 20.
 7 In the [Mālava] Samvat 611. v 21.
 8 In the season of autumn v. 22.
 9 Raviśānti of Garggarakṛta composed the *prāśasti*. v. 23
 10 Mihiravarman engraved it. post-script.

Historical importance. See Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar's article 'A Haraha inscription published in the Ind. Ant Vol. XLVI p 125. The great historical importance of this inscription is that though five (F. G. I Nos 49, 50, 48, 51, and 47) more records of the Maukharī family are found, it is only this inscription that gives us a date for a Maukharī king. It states that Isānavarman rebuilt a Śiva temple in the year 611, v 21. Though no specific mention is made of the era there is no doubt that it is the Mālava or the Vikrama era (see Mr. Majumdar's article p 125. The corresponding Christian date is therefore 554. This date helps us to settle the chronology of the undated Maukharī inscriptions. The Maukharis whom our poet, Raviśānti, connects with the solar race were no doubt a very ancient clan, as a 'clay seal bearing the legend *Mokkalinam* written in Mauryan Brahmi characters (300 B C) was discovered at Gaya. From several inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries A D and from Bana's *Harshacharita* the Maukharis seem to have been powerful rulers. Though Mukhara is said to be the remote ancestor of the dynasty its geneology as known from epigraphs runs thus— (See F G I No 47, Asirgadh copper seal inscription of Śarvavarman and C. V. Vaidya's *Hist. of Medieval Hindu India* Vol I p 33)

Mahārāja Harivarman — Jayasvāmini.

„ Ādityavarman — Harshaguptā.

„ Iśvaravarman — Upaguptā.

Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman (M. S. 611)

Sūryavarman

Śarvavarman.

Avantivarman.

Grihavarman.

According to the Asirgadh inscription (opt cit), which makes no mention of Sūryavarman Iśānavarman was succeeded by Śarvavarman. It is probable that Sūryavarman had predeceased his father. E. I. XIV No. 111.

Of these kings Iśānavarman to whose time our inscription belongs was the most powerful. He is styled Mahārājādhirāja in other records. The description of his conquests in the 13th verse of our record is important. He is said to have defeated the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gaudas and forced them to accept his sovereignty. Unfortunately nothing definite is known of these kings defeated by Iśānavarman. The defeat of the Āndhra king is also referred to in the Junapur inscription (F. G. I. No. 51), which also must belong to the time of Iśānavarman. As regards the Śūlikas various suggestions have been made. According to Rev. Heras they might be Cholas as Cholas could easily be Sanskritised into Śūlikas. The Cholas and the Maukharis were constantly at war and ultimately Iśānavarman was successful in freeing his kingdom from the Chola sway. (*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol. I p. 130) But Mr. Srikanta Sastri suggests that they were undoubtedly the Mulakas, people of the Mulaka Nadu, Śūlikas a part of the Andhra country itself. Though they became a section of the great Andhra community they had originally preserved their individuality and find an independent mention

in inscriptions along with another sud-community community called the Asmakas (*ibid* II. 178) The name Gauda occurs for the first time in this inscription but we do not know what local dynasty was ruling in Bengal at the time of the inscription. But the conquest of the province by the Maukharis undoubtedly signalises the extinction of the Gupta rule in Bengal.

Poetical Importance—The poet who composed this *prāśasti* was Raviśānti, the son of Kumāraśānti and a resident of Gargarakata. The place cannot be definitely identified. But it was probably a fort somewhere on the bank of the river Ghāgrā, one of the chief tributaries of the Ganges. If so our poet comes from a country which was famous for its Gaud style of poetry. Though the poet is gifted with high power of imagination his language is very stiff and artificial. The following *Śabdānuśrāsas* are used—स्थितानां स्थितये स्थितस्य, कीर्तयः कीर्तयितव्य, v. 5: राजन् यजक v. 11; यामाञ्जियामा v. 14: कामित कामि v. 17; The last line of the v. 17 can stand as a maxim.

The metres used in the *prāśasti* are—इन्द्रवज्रा v. 6; उपजाति v. 5; गद्या v. 3; दुत्तविरम्बितं v. 15; मालिनी v. 7; शार्दूल-विक्रोदितं vv. 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 17, 18 and 19; श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) vv. 21 and 23; स्रग्धरा vv. 9 and 12.

Notes.—V. 1 अर्थास्थितयोधित—Siva in his Ardhanaṭrinatesvara form. The paradox is beautifully shown by the poet.

V. 3 अश्वपति—A king of the Madra country, father of Sāvitrī. The god of death, Yama bestowed on Sāvitrī several blessings one of which was to the effect that her father Aśvapati may have 100 sons. षड्वत्त i. e. Yama.

मुखरा—The meaning of the word as applied to the family is not known. According to Kaiyata and also Vāmana, the two famous expositors of Panini's system of grammar, who

flourished probably about the 13th and 7th cent. A. D. respectively the term is a patronymic signifying the descendants of Mukhra, who must have been the ādipurusha of the family. It seems to be the name given to the man for his fighting in the forefront of the armies which he led into action. V. 6 तद् रूपयोधे—etc The same idea is expressed in v. 2 p. 44. वर्णाश्रमाचार etc. The same idea is expressed in v. 20 p. 23. V. 7 मुखरयति etc This idea is again repeated by the poet in the verse 10 of this poem. V. 8 वृत्रद्विषः—The enemy of the demon वृत्र, i. e. Indra. ययाति—See Vishnu-purāṇa IV 10 and aMhābhārata Ādi, chap. 75 a celebrated king of the lunar race, son of Nahusha. V. 11 उदयाद्रि—Rising mountain. It is also the name of the Himalaya. V. 13 सिंह...वारणे—It may be noted that elephants were the special strength of the army of the Āndhras, the horses of the, Sūlikas and ships of the Gaudas. V. 23 पूर्वा—i. e. The *prāsasti*. The expression occurs also in Nos. 5 and 13.

Translation.

V. 1. Victorious is Bhava (i. e. Śiva), the source of bliss, the destroyer of the demon Tripura; the soul of all beings, in whose heart the mind-born (Cupid) did not find room, though a woman (i. e. Pārvati) forms one half of his body; whom the ascetics, who have suppressed their passions and destroyed the mass of darkness (of ignorance), contemplate, and who is the cause of the Gods that bring about the manifestation, the destruction and the maintenance of the world. V. 2. May the body of the enemy of Andhaka (i. e. Śiva) grant you an eternal abode— (the body of Śiva) which has sparkling serpents on it which bears on the forehead the slender digit of the moon, which dispells darkness, which renders brown the shining row of skulls by the lustre proceeding from his eyes, and which wears a lion-skin redd-

ened by the lustre of the jewels on the hoods of serpents.

V. 3 The king *Aśvapati* got from *Vaivasvita* (Yama) one hundred sons, conspicuous by their virtues, from them were descended the *Mukharā* princes, who vanquished their enemies and checked the cause of evil V 4 Among them king *Harivarman* was the first, born for the welfare of the earth, who became known by the name of *Jvālāmukha* (or, flame-faced), as he was honoured by the foes who were struck with terror when they saw his face reddend on account of the lustre of fire (i.e. anger) at the time of battle and as his splendour destroyed the wealth of the enemy and his fame pervaded the intervals of (all) the quarters V 5 Whose name was worthy of being praised and whose lovely excellent fame filled the worlds, while he remained, for the perpetuation of the moral laws in the world, on the path of virtue and discrimination like *Manu* V. 6 Like the moon from the ocean, king *Ādityavarman* was born from him, by getting whom the Creator obtained, as it were the (full) result of his laying down the regulations of right conduct for the four castes and stages of life V 7 When fire was kindled during his sacrificial performances the volume of smoke black, like (pitch) darkness, rising on all sides and increased through the tossing and whirling produced by the wind in the sky, made the crowds of peacocks noisy, as they mistook it for a large cloud V. 8. For the attainment of martial glory he caused the birth of the king *Īśvaravarman*, whose soul was pure and who invoked *Indra* (the enemy of *Vritra*) in many a sacrifice. In the pursuit of virtue other kings with all their effort were not able to equal him, whose (pious) conduct had uprooted the character of the *Kāli* (age) and who possessed glory equal to that of *Yayāti* V 9 Qualifying his high bravery with political wisdom, his friendship by straight forwardness his lofty ambition by his noble descent, his liberality by fit recipients, his greatness of wealth by modesty, his youth by self-restraint, his speeches by truthfulness, his

manner of life by the injunctions of the Śruti, and his high prosperity by humbleness, he never felt tired in the world, though it was immersed in the darkness of the Iron age.

V. 10. At whose sacrifices, when the round of the quarters was overlaid with the smoke which arose from the fire kindled constantly in accordance with the cannons, and which was dark blue in appearance like streaks of collyrium, the multitude of peacocks became noisy, their minds becoming maddened; by the mistaken idea that the rainy season, having a line of clouds bending low because of the weight of the fresh water, had set in. V. 11. As the sun (rises) from the top of Udaya mountain, as Indra is born from the Creator, as the beauteous Kaustubha jewel, having lovely lustre and excelling the rays of the moon, came out of the Milk Ocean, the illustrious king *Isānavarman* was born of him, being the firmer abode of greatness, maintainer of stability amongst the beings, and a resplendent moon in the sky of the circle of princes. V. 12. By whom, as by the rising sun, the world, which was sunk in the darkness of the Kali Age, where the paths of virtue were consequently obscured, was again set to work he being a benefactor of the world possessing majesty to eclipse the lustre of water-lilies in the form of the foes, illuminating the collection of lotus-like faces of his friends, and being possessed of abundant majestic splendour ;

V. 13. Who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the *Andhras*, who had thousands of three fold rutting, elephants, after vanquishing in battle the *Śūlikas*, who had an army of a large number of galloping horses, and after causing the *Gaudas*, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm ;

V. 14. The victorious one, whose watches can only be determined by means of the water-clock, as if it were at night, the world being encompassed in darkness and bewildered as to the beginning, the middle or the end of the day on account of the dust which rises from the earth rent asunder by the agitation caused by the marches of his ocean-like armies on their expeditions, screens the lustre of the orbit of the sun, and pervades the quarters :

V. 15. By whom the earth was upheld by (his) tre th like a broken boat

after fastening it on all sides by hundredfold virtues (or strings), when it was sinking below the invisible ocean of the nether regions, being shaken by the storms of Kali;

V. 16 Whose foes gave up their lives in the sacrifice of the battlefield, when hit by (lit haying got) his arrows loosened from the bow fully bent by his arms, which was hardened owing to the growth of the wounds caused by the blows of the bowstring. When this king was ruling the earth, the three Vedas were, so to speak, born afresh. From him the illustrious Sūryavarman was born, who dispelled the darkness originated in the Kali (Age).

V. 17 Who, possessing youth that is charming and dear to the entire world, like the new moon, and being calm and having his mind devoted to the study of the Sāstras attained the highest proficiency in fine arts; to whom wealth, fame, Learning and other (Muses) resort to, as if in emulation. Loving women are in the world highly attached to a beloved lover. V. 18 So long virtuous conduct had forcibly to bow down before the Kali; so long the arrows of Cupid were capable of wounding the bodies of the fair sex, and so long did the goddess of wealth give up taking refuge with others, whereby she had to fear sudden breakdowns, as the Creator did not bring forth his body-pleasing to mankind.

V. 19. Who dragged forth by means of his arm, which was surrounded by the streak of lustre of his sparkling sword, the Riches of hostile lands, whose eyes began to reel by the force of fear of seizure of the breasts and closely pressed them to his bosom, as a lover (would press) his sweet-hearts whose minds he knew and caused them to give up the thought of taking recourse to other men.

V. 20. By him, who used to raise those that were low (or submissive) seeing, while he had gone on hunting, a

dilapidated temple of the slayer of Andhaka (i. e. Siva) it was raised according to his wish and made an ornament of the earth, resplendent like the moon and known by the name of Kshemes'vara (the Lord of bliss).

V. 21. When six hundred autumns increased by eleven had passed while the illustrious Īśānavarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth.

V. 22. That temple of the trident wielder (Siva) shining like an empty cloud was (re-) constructed at the time when the clouds, having the lustre of the wild buffalo and having rain-bows stuck to their borders, stretch a canopy over the quarters, with shining and extensive lightnings, thundering deep and continuously and where the winds blow on all sides, shaking the Nipa trees, with their branches bent low on account of the multitude of new flowers. V. 23. Ravis'ānti, the son of Kumās'ānti resident of Garggarākata, composed the preceding [pras'asti] out of regard for the king.

It was engraved by Mihiravarman.

No. 9.

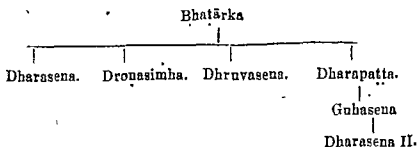
Valabhī Copperplate Inscription of Dharasena II

General Remarks—This inscription is incised on two copper-plates, which were discovered forty years back in the ruins of Valī, 18 miles north-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawad. It is not known where the two plates have been preserved at present. They were published by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VI p. 9. Each of the two plates measures 9½" by 16½" and contains 16 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription are as follows—

At first the name of the military camp, Bhadrapattana given from which the grant was issued.

Then the geneology of the grantor king Dharasen^v who was born in the Maitraka family is given thus—



The officials who were addressed at the time of making the grant for its proper enjoyment are thus mentioned. *Ayuktaka, Drāṅgika, Mahattara, Chāṭa, Bhaṭa, S'aulkika, Dhruvādhikaranika, Viśhayapati, Rājasthānīya, Uparika, Kumārāmātya, and Hastyas'vāroha.*

The beneficiary is the Buddhist monastery called Bappapādiya Vihāra situated in Valabhī and built by the Achārya Bhadanta Sthiramati.

The purpose for which the grant was issued is to provide for the expenses of the articles of worship of the divine Buddhas in the monastery and of the lodging, boarding etc, of the Bhikshus in it and of the necessary repairs of the monastery.

The property granted to meet the expenses consisted of two villages—one called Mahes'varadāsena-kagrāma in the Hastavapra district (*Āharanī*) and the other called Devabhadripattikā, in the Dhārākheta district (*sthali*).

The privileges appurtenant to the enjoyment of the property were *Udranga*, *Uparikara*, *Vātabhūtapratyāya*, *Dhānyabhogabhogahiranyādeya*, *Utpadyamānavikṣṭika*, *Dasā parādha*, and freedom from the encroachment of the state officials.

In the latter part of the inscription imprecatory passages in prose and poetry are quoted.

In the concluding portion are given (1) the sign—manual of the grantor king Dharasena, (2) the name of the Dūtaka, or executive officer of the grant as *Sāmanā Silāditya* (3) the name of the officer who supervised the writing of the grant as *sandhivigrahādhikaranādhikṛita dirirapati*, Skandabhata, and lastly (4) the date of the grant as Sam' 269 Chaitra Ba. 5.

Historical importance. The Maitraka family to which king Dharasena II the donor of the present grant belonged ruled at Valabhi from about 470 to 770 A. D. Bhatārka was the founder. He was probably a general of the Gupta emperor, Shandagupta, but seeing the weak condition of the Gupta empire, after the death of Skandagupta, he founded a dynasty at Valabhi, only nominally acknowledging the sovereignty of the Gupta emperor. His successors seem to have continued their allegiance to the Gupta sovereign and Dronasimha, as our inscription states took pride in being appointed to the kingdom by the sovereign lord probably Bhānugupta himself. After Dharasena II of this inscription twelve more kings ruled in the line. Dhruvasena II who ruled from about 625 to 642 A. D. was defeated by the emperor Harshavardhana of Kanauj and was given his daughter in marriage. His son Dharasena IV who ruled from about 642 to 650 A. D. possessed imperial titles and was undoubtedly the greatest king in the line. The

Valabhi Kings in the height of their power seem to have held the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula except its western-most and northern most part, the portion of Gujrat from Vadangar in the north to Broach in the south and also a part of the western Malvā as far as Rutilam. It is not known how and when the family came to an end, but it seems most probable that the Arabs had invaded Valabhi from Sindh in about A D 770 destroyed it completely and put an end to the family. The last ruler of the family was Silāditya VII. About 87 copperplates have been so far discovered which are practically the only source of our knowledge of the family.

The date of the inscription—The grants of the Valabhi Kings are all dated in what is known as the Gupta Valabhi era beginning with 318-19 A D. This inscription dated in [Valabhi] Samvat 269 can, therefore, be assigned to 588 A D (See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p 31).

Poetical importance The language used in this copperplate inscription is as may be seen extremely artificial and is devoid of really poetic or descriptive skill. This style of writing Sanskrit prose, containing long compounds, which was carried to its height of excellence by Bāṇa seems to have been common not only in upper India but almost in all parts of India during the period of this inscription and in later periods. The poets of the time seem to have considered it the best way of showing their mastery over the language by using as long compounds as possible. Hence the author of our inscription or rather of the original draft which was literally copied in subsequent inscriptions resorted to the use of mere verbose description and figures of speech in the flowery Sanskrit.

Notes—विजयस्वल्हायारत - १९६० - १९६१
Most of the grants of Valabhi Kings are dated from 318 to 319.

which was their capital but there are some which were issued from a military camp. भद्रपत्तन-वासकात्—The place Bhadrāpattana can be identified with modern Bhādrōd, four miles north-east of Mahuva in Kathiawad. विजय.....वासकात्—The proper content is महापराधी परमेजः ममारा दधि in the middle of p. 30. The intervening genealogy is by way of a parenthesis. प्रममप्रणतालब्धप्रताप— Dr. Fleet (Gupta Inscriptions) and some other scholars once took the Maitrakas to be the opponents of the Valabhi kings. But Hultzsch (Ep. Ind. Vol. III p. 320) on the basis of the reading मरुत which is found in all earlier grants instead of the reading मयन evidently a clerical error which is found in later grants construes भैरवकां (वन)=भैरवकु with (अमर) मरुतः. The reading मरुत finally disposes of the possibility of construing the word भैरवकां with the following compound and forces us to connect the word with the verb अमर which is omitted but must be supplied to complete the sentence. Whether we paraphrase the passage by भैरवकां (i. e. भैरवकु) भयकोऽमरत् or suppose the word वने after भैरवकां it is now evident that Bhātārka himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas. Unfortunately nothing is known of this tribe. About the genitive use of Māitrakānām compare Bhūras'ivānām and Vākātakānām in the Chammaka grant (F. G. I., No 55), L. 8 मौलभूत etc.—This passage is severally translated by scholars. Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions (p. 167) translates the phrase as follows; 'who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends. Kielhorn's translation (Ep. Ind. I, 89) runs thus:—' who had acquired the splendour of royalty by his devoted army (which consisted) of hereditary servants, hired soldiers and men employed in posts. Hultzsch thus translates it (Ep. Ind. III. 322) ' who acquired the glory of royalty by the strength of a devoted body of hereditary

servants, hired soldiers and friends' Stenkonow has again offered the following translation (Ep. Ind XI 108) who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends. But N. G. Majumdar (Ind Ant. 1919 p. 207) offers the following translation, which seems to be the correct one, in the light of the Mahābhārata and Arthasāstra: who acquired the goddess of royalty (i. e. the kingdom) through the army (consisting of) hereditary, mercenary, allied and guild soldiers of Mahābhārata.

आदधीत बलं राजा मौलं मित्रबलं तथा ।
अट्टीवलं भूतं चैव तथा श्रेणिवलं प्रभो ॥

and Kautilya's Arthasāstra —

स मौलभूतश्रेणामित्रामित्राट्टीवलानां etc. p. 140.

This epithet of Bhatārka, the founder of the family indicates that he was born in a kingly family and had followers who were servants of the state for many generations (मौल). (See *History of mediaeval Hindu India* Vol. I p. 245.L) 10. परमस्वामिना.....राज्याभिषेक—Dronasimha took special pride in having his appointment to the Valabhi kingdom performed personally by the paramount sovereign. Unfortunately no where is the name of this imperial lord mentioned. He was probably the Gupta emperor Budhagupta or, as Mr. K. G. Sankar suggests, Bhānugupta to whose reign Dronasimha's date 183 suits.

L. 21, सकलस्मृति... राजशब्दो—This reminds us of the style of Kālidāsa. With प्रजा...शब्दः cf राजा प्रजाब्जनलम्बवर्गः Razha VI 218. p. 30, L. 3 पादचारीव—lit. 'moving on legs, i. e. personified as it were' cf. प्रकृत्येव धर्मस्य प्रसादो मूर्तिसंचरः Uttararāmascharita VI 10. आभिगामिकैः युजैः lit. 'inviting virtuous qualities'. They are as explained in Kāmandaka's Nītiśāra (IV. VV. 6)

good birth, steadfastness in misfortune and prosperity, youth, a good disposition, civility, absence of dilatoriness, speech that is not contradictory, truthfulness, reverence for the aged, gratitude, the state of being favoured by destiny, wisdom, being independent of trifles, capability of subduing hostile neighbouring chiefs, firmness in attachment, foresight, energy, purity, having great aims, modesty, and firm devotion to religion and justice (F. G. I. P. 169 n. 2).

परिभोग- '(skilful in) the enjoyment of'. In some Valsabhi grants the reading परिभोग instead of परिभोग is used. There the translation would be 'skilful in causing annoyance to'.

L. 11, आयुक्तक etc.—These are technical official terms. Even with so much progress in Indian epigraphy the meaning of these and many other technical terms found usually in copperplates of this dynasty and of others is not certain. An attempt is however made below to find out their meaning. **आयुक्तक**—According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (Ep. Ind. XI, 175) the word appears to be very old found in Pāṇini II. 3.40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudi* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be Brāhmanas employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the pujāris or the worshippers at temples or the āś'ritas. **त्रिनियुक्तक**—According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (*ibid* p. 176) he may be the officer in charge of the village as pāṭil (the headman), Kulkarṇi (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer. **द्राङ्गिक**—The word द्रङ्ग means 'frontier outpost' and 'drāṅgika' may, therefore, denote an officer in charge of a frontier outpost 'a warden of the marches'. **महत्तर**—A man of special respectability in a place such as the heads of particular communities.

चाट—Dr. Buhler (*Ind. Ant.* IV, 106) thinks that it probably means 'fortune-teller.' Prof. Bhadkamkar (*op. cit*

p 176) says that Yājñavalkya speaks of *chāṭas* alone with thieves etc as men who are likely to be injurious to the public In *मृच्छकटिक* V, the friend of the hero remarks in Pkt 'even dogs won't go to a place where the *chāṭas*, courtesans etc reside. The similarity in sound with *chāṭu* 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer,' and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers According to Prof K B Pithaka (Ep Ind IX 296) the expression *अचान्नमत्प्रावेद्य* means not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lie The expression has also been taken to mean, 'not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers' which is probably the best possible interpretation of that phrase When an army was passing, the soldiery used to exact all kinds of dues from the owners of lands lying on their route In the present enumeration of officers *चट & मट* must be considered as petty officers of the regular & irregular army. 'भट'— 'a soldier' Prof Bhadrakamkar thinks that the word is perhaps connected with *Bhāta*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises

शौल्किक—This title might be rendered by some such term as Superintendent of tolls or customs (*Shulka*) (Fleet)

विषयपति—The officer over a *visaya* or territorial division probably corresponding to the present Subah or collector, **राजस्थानीय**— lit 'One who belongs to a Rajas thāna or king's abode or perhaps 'one who occupies the position of a Raja' is a technical official title, the exact grade of which remains to be determined The explanation of the word in *Kshemendras Lohaprasasa* is *प्रजापालनाय उद्दति*

रक्षयति च स राजस्थानीयः i. e. a state officer over a district or province (*F. G. I. P.*) Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji means by it ' the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms (Rājasthana). (*Bcm. Gaz.* Vol. I P t. 1, P. 82). उपरिक-Probably a survey officer.

कुमारामात्य- Prof. Bhadkamkar thinks that the word denotes the princes of the royal blood who formed a council and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. But it is better to suppose that it means a counsellor of the prince. He had probably to act as a guardian or companion of the prince.

l. 16, वलभ्यां- Valabhi was the capital of the Maitraka kings, which is to be indentified with the modern town Valā where the plates were found. Col. Tod was the first man to suggest this identification. (See Ind. Ant. 1925 Sept. App p. 39; *J B B R A. S.* Vol. 1 (N. S. p. 15). Hinen Tsiang, who visited the place in about 643 A. D. gives a very glowing description of the prosperity of the town. It was a famous centre of Buddhism and possessed a number of Buddhist monasteries. I-tsing, a junior contemporary of Hinen Tsiang tells us that in his time Nālandā in Bihar and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students. Valabhi was completely destroyed in about 770 A. D. by the Arab invaders. भदन्त-It was an epithet used with Buddhist (some times with Jain) Achāryas. स्थिरमति-Gunamati, who lived early in the sixth century and Sthiramati late in the same century were very great Buddhist scholars who lived in Valabhi. Their fame had reach-d as far as China.

श्रीवृष्णपादीयविहार-lit. (Buddhist) monastery of the

feet of Bappa. The word Bappa seems to be used here as a proper name though in Valabhi plates it is generally used to denote the relation between father and son. *Ind Ant* (1886 p. 276) The monastery might have been built by a Valabhi king and since a king was and even now is addressed by the name Bappa modern Bīpu in Kathiawad the monastery may have been so named भगवतां बुद्धानां-etc. This expression shows that Buddha was then looked upon as an actual deity to be worshipped through the medium of an image.

हस्तवप्राहरण्यां—In the āharanī of Hastavapī. Āharanī or āhara is the territorial term corresponding to the modern 'district' very often used in Valabhi plates. Hastavapra corresponds to the modern village Hāthab six miles south of Gogha in the Bhavnagar State. *Ind Ant* VII p. 54, LIV, Dec App p. 49.

महेश्वरदासेनकग्राम—It is probably the modern village Mahadevapuri, at a short distance to the south-west of Hāthab.

धाराखेगुह्या—*Sthal* is the territorial division probably equivalent to modern Taluka. Dharakheta may be modern Dharā a mahal-town of the Gaikwad's territory in Kathiawad. **देवभद्रिपल्लिका**—This village cannot be identified.

उद्रङ्ग उपरिकर—etc. These are technical fiscal terms the exact meaning of which is not certain. Their interpretations by various scholars are given below.

उद्रङ्ग—According to Dr. Bahler (*Ind Ant* \XI 189 n. 39) it is probably equivalent to उद्धार and उद्धार and means 'The share of the produce collected usually for the king'. According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (*op. cit.* p. 176) it is synonymous with Dranga (a town) and the expression सोद्रङ्ग means 'together with the hamlets'.

उपरिकर-Fleet (F. G. I. p. 98 n. 1) thinks that it denotes ' a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil. According to Prof. Bhadkamkar it possibly means the appurtenances as timber, trees etc standing on the land. Dr. Buhler and Fleet suggest that all the attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case this adjective **सैपरिकर** means ' together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen etc. for the management of the town, ' in accordance with Manu VII. 137. But since all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective **सुधान्यहिरण्यादेय** it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

वातभूतप्रत्याय-According to Dr. Buhler (I. A. IV. p. 166) *vāta* means in a technical sense dry grass and wood. The expression means certain dues from village. According to Prof. Bhadkamkar (Ep. Ind XI. 177.) it means, ' as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place.' This word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the *Narmadā*, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described: viz. (1) huge trees or mountains; (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is to all these that this adjective refers. **धान्यभागभोगहिरण्यादेय**- A share from the produce of corn and the revenues in gold.

उत्पद्यमानविष्टिक-Probably the privilege of demanding forced labour (*Vishti*, modern *Vetla*), as prescribed by Manu VII.138 **दशापराध**-The ten faults or sins. **हिंसा स्तेयान्धधकामं वैशुन्यं परमानृते । संभिन्नालापव्यापादमभिध्या इन्द्रिपर्ययं** as stated in *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅgahṛīdaya* and in *Dharmasindhusāra* of Kāś'inath-

opadhyāya. See *F-G-I* p 189 n 4 The meaning of the expression is that the grantees were given the right to the proceeds of fines imposed for the commission of these (or similar) wrongful actions in the limits of their village^s

समस्तराजकीयानां अहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय : i.e. with the privilege of not being interfered with by any of the king's people In some grants of old times the wording is राजकायानाम नयुक्तिप्रक्षेपणीय (*F-G-I* p 171 n. 1)

L 23, भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन According to Dr R G Bhandarkar (*Ind Ant* I, 46) this expression may have some reference to the circumstance that holes in the earth are not permanent but are filled up in the course of time This is shown from the story that Indra transferred the sin he incurred by killing Vis'varūpa, the son of Tvashtia, among other objects and persons to the earth and in consideration of her having taken it gave her a boon that all holes made in her would be filled up in time The sense of the expression then is that a grant is to survive all revolutions etc and last unchanged forever, as the holes in the earth are filled up in time and the earth is whole again According to Dr Buhler (*Ind Ant* IV 106 n) the expression means ' the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the cleft or clefts therein, ' or the inference that the whole includes the parts, just as a piece of land includes the various clefts therein If it is stated that a village or the like is given सुम् it means simply that it is made over with all its appurtenances, produce, rights etc Prof. Bhadkambhar (*Ep Ind.* XI 177) however suggest that the word reserves the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove etc The right of the king to the e is always urged against a gift (See Ananda Ramayana, Sarakānda III 264 वद्म्या वर्तते वित्तं तन्नृपस्य न सशय), unless it is expressly transferred The

the traditionary laws (i. e. *smṛitis*); who in beauty, lustrous stability, profundity, wisdom and wealth, surpassed (*respectively*) (the god) Smara, (i. e. cupid), the moon, the king of mountains (i. e. Himālaya), the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (i. e. Bṛihaspati) and Dhaneśa (i. e. Kubera); who through being intent upon giving freedom from fear to those who came for protection, disregarded all the fruit of his action as if it were a straw; (and) who was as it were the personified joy of the circumference of the whole earth.

P. 30 | 5 His son, whose sins have been all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jānbavi which was flowing (as it were) from the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet; whose enjoyments and wealth consisted of the sustenance of a hundred thousand favourites; who is resorted to, as if from a desire for his beauty, by the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind (?); who has astonished all archers by (his) innate strength and special training, who is the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects, who is the exponent of (the condition of being) the one (joint) habitation of wealth and learning; whose valour is skillful in the enjoyment of the goddess of fortune of the compact ranks of (his) enemies; (and), who possesses a spotless princely glory, acquired by valour—the illustrious mahāsāmanta Mahārāja (Dharasena) (11) a most devout worshipper of Mahes'vara, being in good health, issues a command to all his own (officers) Ayuktaka, Drāngika, Mahattara, Chāta, Bhata, S'aulkika, Dhruvādhikaraṇika, Viśhayapati, Rājasthānīya, Uparika, Kutrārāmātya, Hastyas'vārohas and others, according as they are concerned—

L 15 " Be it known to you, that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) parents, and for our own attainment of the desired reward in this world and in the next world—these are given by me, with libations of water in accordance with the rule of *bhūmicchāhidra*, as gifts and to endure for the same time with the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth, two villages—(one) *Mahes'varadāsenaka* in the *Āharaṇa* of *Hastavapra*, and (the other) *Devabhadripallikā* in the *Sthalī* of *Dhārākhetā*—accompanied by (the privileges of) *Udranga*, *Uparikara*, *vātabhūtapratyāya*, *Dhānyabhāgabhogahiraṇyādeya*, *Utpadyamānavistika*, *Daśāparadha* and by the privilege that it is) not to be meddled with by any of the king's people, for the purpose of providing for the articles—flowers, incense, sandal-wood paste, light and oil and others—(of the worship) of the divine *Buddhas*, in the monastery of the venerable *Bappa* built by *Āchārya Bhadanta Stbhiramati* in *Valabhi*, and for providing clothing, food, lodging and medicine in sickness of the *Saṅgha* of the venerable *Bhikkhus*, come from various quarters, and for the purpose of repairing the broken portions of the monastery.

L 24. Wherefore, no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to the villages in enjoying it, cultivating it, censuring it to be cultivated or assigning it (to another) in accordance with the proper conditions of a grant to the good or the monastery. p 31, l. 1 And this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings, born in our lineage or by others, bearing in mind that riches does not endure for ever, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it). And he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the five great

sins, together with the minor sins, who may confiscate this (grant), or assent to its confiscation. And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas :-

V. 1 The girves of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! V. 2 The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continue it) ! V. 3 Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the hollows of dried-up trees in forests destitute of water. V. 4 He who confiscates land granted by himself or by others incurs the sin of a killer of a hundred thousand cows. V. 5 The chattels, which have been made here into altars of religion by (previous) kings through fear of poverty, (are) like the remains of offerings (to gods and like food that is vomited; verily, what good man would take them back again ! V. 6 Who indeed having attained to the desirable riches of a king, the (very) abode of the goddess of wealth, through having to which (merit) (will leave it). You should increase those very merit; (by which you have attained kingdom) the beneficial course is indeed, not to be abandoned.

This is the sign-mannual of me, the Mahārāja, the illustrious Dharasena. The Dūtaka is Sāmanta Silāditya (This charter) has been written by Skandabhata the minister of peace and war and the chief secretary. The second day of the dark half of Chaitra of the year 269.

No. 10.

Camboja Stone Inscription of the son of Bhavavarman.

General Remarks—This inscription was found at Han chey on the right side of the Mekhong river in Cambodia. It was first published by H. Kern in *Annales de l'Entreme Orient* jan. 1882, then by A Barth in *Journnal Asiatique* 1882, 1883, and lastly by A Barth again in the collection of *Cambodge Inscriptions*. The inscribed portion measures 2' 10½" by 2' 1½" and contains 35 verses in 35 lines.

The record opens with an invocation of god S'iva. From the second to the sixteenth verse a king named Bhavavarman is praised. From v. 17 to 21 his son, whose name is not recorded, is praised. From v. 22 to 32 his feudatory chieftain whose name also is not given but who is said to be ruling at Ugrapura is described. He built a temple of S'iva under the name of Bhadres'vara.

The record does not give any historical information of the family to which Bhavavarman or the King of Ugrapura who set up the S'iva temple belonged. It is only stated that Bhavavarman belonged to the lunar race. So also no date is recorded of the inscription, though on paleographical grounds we can assign it to the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

Bhavavarman, as Dr. R. C. Mazumdar of the Dacca University kindly informs me, freed Cambodge from the yoke of Fou-zan and united its two parts and thus laid the foundation of its greatness. He extended the boundaries of his kingdom as far as Daugrek and conquered many savage peoples of the border. It has been suggested that he is

referred to in the "Vishṇu Purāṇa" as 'king' Bhavya of S'akadvīpa.

The poetry of the inscription is certainly of a high order. The name of the poet is not known but he seems to be a really gifted man. He seems to have studied the works of Kālidāsa and imitates him in a number of verses. The last half of the sixth verse at once reminds us of the verse 49 in the fourth canto of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*. Similarly the seventh verse of the inscription is an echo of the verse 54 in the same canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. The poet is fond of using puns. cf. अमृष्यमहासत्त्वं v. 2; निदानपयःसिक्तकरान् v. 5; कला v. 15; राग v. 18.

This inscription clearly shows that Sanskrit poetry was highly cultivated in such a remote colony of the ancient Hindus as the Cambodia.

The one metre used in the record is Śloka (*Anuṣṭubh*).

Notes—V. 1 The jealousy between Gangā and Umā, the cowives of Śiva is frequently described by Sanskrit poets.

V. 2 अपृष्य and महासत्त्वं are to be taken in two senses with reference to the king and the mountain Meru. So also the words दान and कर in V. 5 V. 12 cf. Asoka's relinquishing conquest by force for conquest by Dharma. V. 15 The word कला is to be taken in two senses—digit and art. V. 18 Supply the words चूडारत्न before मरीचयः and read पादनक्षेत्रेण, मनागपि न चेतासि after यस्य. V. 20 Read the verse as—

तमोविषातविक्षोभमवापदुदयं रविः ।
यस्तु शान्तमनावामलम्ब्य क्षितिमण्डलम् ॥

V. 22 Read the second pāda thus—

विश्रम्भदानसन्मानैर्यो यः पर्यतप्यत ॥

V. 23 Read the verse as—

यन्तक्षिप्रामलच्छत्रगूष्मकाघनबुद्धम् ॥

यानं मुवर्णराभितं इत्यन्वयाविहणम् ॥

V. 25 Supply यापि after वसने. Read ययः after यो

V. 29 Itad प्रीणवन्नपुरासीनान् अथ V. 32 Nothing is known of the town Ugrapura.

Translation.

V. 1 Victorious is God Ś'iva (who wears the moon as an ornament), who bears on his head the Ganges, whose waves had become curved because of the frowning of Umā and which is white like the garland of... V. 2 There was an illustrious king named Bhavavaram, lord of kings, who being difficult to be offended and yet high-souled was as it were another Meru which is difficult of access and contains large (wild) beasts. V. 3 Whose valour, being born in the Soma lineage as Soma (moon) is born in the sea, some-how became resplendent in good battles as the lustre of the moon does in the sea. V. 4 When he had kept under subjection the six internal enemies, which are difficult to be subdued and which because of their having no bodily forms are outside the scope of senses, it is redundant to speak of (his conquest of) the external enemies. V. 5 He kept for war elephants, whose trunks were wet by the constant rattling and who (thus) resembled him, as his hands were always wet with the water used while making gifts.

V. 6 His valour was unbearable to the enemies as he went out (for war) after the autumn and overcame the enemies. Not so unbearable is the lustre even of the sun shining after the autumn with its great lustre unenveloped (by clouds). V. 7 The dust (raised) by his army when wiped by the women of the enemies assumed the appearance of powder applied to their cheeks though they had given up (using) toilets. V. 8. The water in the ditches

around: (enemy's) city was dried up like the mind of the enemy being drunk... V. 9. By whose lustre, refulgent (as it was) the ramparts of the (enemy's) city, although (one) burnt, had, as it were, a repetition of the action of fire. V. 10. Having conquered the mountain kings he extended (his) country so as to reach the shores; thereby he stretched, as it were, the quarters by the collection of his good qualities and by his fame (sung) by the bards. V. 11. The transgressed the limits (of the kingdoms) of the families of enemies to this extent that the limits of their kingdoms were transgressed by his valorous deeds. V. 12. The earth girdled with the ocean, which he had once conquered by force was reconquered by him through his (quality of) forgiveness, when he was overlord. V. 13. Attracted by his greatness, others, though unconquered in battle bow to his lotus feet, presenting their royal glory. V. 14. Thinking that this whole earth was not conquered before by another he is not satisfied without conquering the earth, extending as far as the oceans. V. 15. By obtaining sixteen digits (kalas) the moon attains perfection. But he is never puffed up even by acquiring numberless arts (kalas). V. 16. It is the maxim of the wise that no body possesses all the qualities. But he has shown this to be wrong without speaking anything. V. 17. The great king had a son like the new moon who pleased the people by the possession of (good) qualities, beauty of form and other (acquisitions). V. 18. The rays of the jewels in the crests of other kings get coloured (rāga=colour) (by being reflected) in the nails of (his) feet (i- the course of bowing) but there is no anger (rāga=anger) in the least in his mind. V. 19. When the king had gone to the abode of Śiva (i. e. died) and when he had risen (to the power of the kingdom) the people dropped tears filled simultaneously with grief and joy (the former for the death of the former king, the latter for the accession of the new king) V. 20. The

sun rises (lit. gets rise) after the agitation caused by the destruction of darkness. But he got the circle of the earth peacefully and without any hindrance. V. 21. When he was prepared to take the burden of the kingdom (upon himself) in a young age it seemed as if Kumāra (S'iva's son) had taken the generalship of the gods. V. 22. There was a servant of the two kings, who was (found) pure through temptations * who, being a fit man was pleased (by them) by honours, gifts and taking him into confidence. V. 23-24. He got through the favour of both the masters a carriage made of gold having an umbrella which was clean and the inside of which was variegated and the high top of which was made of gold and which was propelled by elephants and horses; he also got much wealth consisting of golden pots and other things V. 25 He never got any thing which was not enjoyed by his masters-food or garments, carriage or ornaments. V. 26 He desired to purchase the glory, high and lasting. for the cause of his masters by his life, insignificant and low and brought up by the morsels of his father. V. 27 Though closely embraced by Lakshmi (i. e. Fortune) he being full of forgiveness and tranquillity leads the life of sages on the strength of his former practice. V. 28 Though he had exhibited bravery in battle and renunciation his cowardliness for dishonour and humility was well known. V. 29 By even pleasing those that are indifferent and showing anger towards those that are enemical he made both the parties accept his friendship because of his wealth of (good) qualities. V. 30 Dharma having one of his feet broken by the powerful Kali resorted to him as to a big pillar and (thus) stood firm as if he had four feet. V. 31 He disregarded the wealth of his body as it was not lasting but he considered it most which was full of glory

* (See अर्थशास्त्र for various उपवास or temptations laid in the way of a minister to test him.)

and merits as it was steady. V. 32 The lord of Ugrapura through great devotion founded here this *linga* of S'iva (lit Is'vara) under the name of S'rī Bhadresvara. V. 33 The sages who worship the god should have authority over all the slaves, cows (or rather cattle), fields, gold and other granted money. V. 34 The brothers, sons, and even the relatives of the donor should not violate the grant of the god and should not exercise authority over it. V. 35 The people who wish to seize what has been granted by the donor with devotion towards this god, will go to hell for a long time.

No. 11

Bānskherā Copperplate Inscription of Harsha

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved in beautiful letters on a single copperplate measuring about 19" by 13" and containing 18 lines of writing. An oval-shaped seal soldered on to the plate bears an inscription, but it is too worn to be legible. The plate was discovered in the village Bānskherā about 25 miles from Shahājahānpur in U. P. in 1894 and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum Lucknow. The inscription was edited by Dr. G. Babler in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV p. 208.

The charter contained in the copperplate was issued from the military camp at Vardhamānakotī by the emperor Harsha, whose ancestry is thus recorded.

Mahārāja Naravardhana = Vajrinīdevī.

„ Rājyavardhana = Apsarodevī.

„ Ādityavardhana = Mahāsenagnpīdevī.

Mahārājādhitāja Prabhākaravardhana = Yas'omatīdevī.

„ Rājyavardhana II.

Harshavardhana (younger brother of
Rajya°)

The first three kings bear the epithet *Mahārāja* only; but the last three bear the imperial titles *paramabhāṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*. The first king does not, bear any religious epithet. The next three are called *paramādityabhaktas* i. e. great devotees of the sun. Rājyavardhane calls himself a great devotee of Sugata i. e. Buddha, while Harshavardhana calls himself a great devotee of Mahes'vara.

The copperplate was addressed by Harsha to his officers named below. महासामन्त, महाराज, दीस्ताप, साधनिक, प्रमातृ, राजस्थानीय, कुमारामात्य, उपरिक, विषयपति, भट, चाट, सेवक, and प्रतिवासिजनपद.

The beneficiaries were two Brāhmanas of Bhāradvāja *gotra*-Bālachandra, a Rigvedin, and Bhadra svāmin, a Sāma-vedin. The property granted to them by this charter consisted of a village named Markatasāgara in the western *pathaka*, of the Angadīya *Vishaya*, included in the *Aliechhatrā bhukti*. The Dūtaka was skandagupta who bore the titles Mahāpramālā and mahāsāmanta, while the officer who supervised the engraving of the grant was mahā-āmanja mahārāja Bhānu, who was a keeper of the records. The plate was engraved by Is'vara. The date of the grant was the first day of the dark half of Kārtika of [Harsha-] samvat 22, which is equivalent to 628 A. D.

The last line of the record consists of the sign-mannel of the king written in elaborately ornamented characters, about three times larger than those of the body of the grant showing that King Harsha must have been a highly accomplished penman if at least, they reproduce the King's handwriting. (V. A. Smith's *Early History of India* IIIrd ed. p. 316).

Historical importance of the inscription—Of the emperor Harsha of Kanauj four inscriptions are so far discovered: the prevent one, the Madhuban copperplate inscription of [H.] S. 25 published in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 67 the undated Sonapat seal inscription, published in *F. G. I.* p. 232 and the Nalanda seal published in *Archl Survey Eastern Criele: Report for 1917-18*. The same geneology of Harsha, as is given in our inscription is found in the others. The contents of this inscription except for the beneficiary and the property granted are identical with those of the Madhuban inscription which was issued three years afterwards.

The year 22 given in the record must be that of the era said to have been instituted by Harsha which began with the year 606 or 607 A D when Harsha ascended the throne.

Poetical value of the inscription—Except a verse in the middle and two imprecatory verses at the end the whole of the inscription is in prose. As is very often the case with inscriptions on copperplates the author of the present copperplate inscription is not known. As was inevitable he has imitated the artificial style of writing Sanskrit prose, containing long compounds, which was carried to its height of excellence by Bāṇa with whom the author must have been not only a contemporary but also a fellow-courtier at the court of the emperor, Harsha. The language of this inscription is decidedly better than that of the Valabhi copperplate inscription (No. 9 above). The wording of the two admonitory verses at the end proves that Harsha was really a poet. In l. 7 the poet calls Prabhākaravardhan as परमादित्यमक्ष and wants to compare him with भद्रादित्य but the word for भद्रादित्य which he uses is एकचक्र so that there would be an alliteration of the word चक्र in प्रवृत्तचक्र and एकचक्रः. In other cases also he compares the king with the deity he

icha Chhāndoga s'ākṣā. Knowing this you should agree to this and the inhabitants with due obedience of (our) command should hand over to these two (brāhmaṇas) the dues derived in the usual way from the weighing, surveying, shares, the taxes on the enjoyment and gold etc. They should moreover serve and honour them.

This gift should be assented to by those who follow the noble course of our family and also by others. Charity and the protection of the glory of others (is the) reward of the goddess of wealth, fickle like the lightning or the bubble in water. Men (lit. creatures) should do what is beneficial by actions, by mind, and by speech. This unequalled (way of) the acquisition of Dharma is related by Harsha.

The Dūtaka here (is) *Mahāpramāṭā*, *Mahāsāmanta*, Skandagupta. (This) is engraved by Īśvara by order of *Mahākṣapatalādhikṛita Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Bhānu*. The first day of the dark half of Kārtika of Sam. 22. (This is) the *sign manual* of me, the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Harsha*.

No 12.

Aihole Stone Inscription of Pulakeshin II

General Remarks—This very valuable inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in an old temple called Veguti at Aihole in the Hungund taluka of the Bijapur district in the Bombay Presidency. It was twice edited by Dr Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* V 67 and VIII 237. Its revised edition is published by Dr Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol VI pp 1 ff. The inscription contains 19 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription can be divided into the following sections —

- 1 *Mangala* addressed to Jinendra the presiding deity of the temple v 1
- 2 Description of the *Chalukya* family in which the patron of the temple-builder was born v. 2
- 3 That of king Satyaśraya born in that family who was the patron of the temple-builder v 3
- 4 In the *Chalukya* family a king named Jayasimha Vallabha was born after many generations vv 4-5
- 5 His son was Ranaraga v 6
- 6 His son was Pulakeśi who made Vatapi his capital — vv 7-8
- 7 His son was Kirtivarman who conquered Nalas Mauryas and Kadambas vv. 9-10
- 8 His younger brother was Mangaleśa who conquered the *Kalachuris* and seized the island named *Revati dvipa* vv 11-13
- 9 Long description of his nephew Pulakeshin II vv 14-31.
 - i He forcibly seized the throne vv. 14-16
 - ii He defeated Appayika and persuaded Govinda

territory north of the river Bhatmarathi (modern Bhīmā). The former king was defeated and the latter was made an ally. Nothing definite is known of these kings.

Pulikeśin is next said in the inscription to have seized the fort of Vanavāsī on the bank of the Varada river. Vanavāsī which is in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency was the capital of the Kadambas and the Kadamba king who was defeated by Pulikeśin was probably Vishnuvarman, son of Bhogivarman (Dubreuil p. 95). The kings of the Ganga and Alupa families were subdued. The Gangas were rulers of Gangavadi comprising the larger part of modern Mysore State having their capital at Talkad (*Proc. Madras Ori. Conf.* p. 297) also *Ehandarkar Comm. Vol.* p. 237). The Ganga king defeated by Pulikeśin was most probably Durvinita, who reigned from about 605 to about 650 A. D. (Dubreuil p.) and who is known to be a great scholar (*Calcutta Ori. Conf.* p. 297). The Alupas were probably a branch of the Nāga family ruling over Malbar. The Maurya king of N. Konkana was next attacked with a large fleet, and vanquished. In v. 9 above Pulikeśin I is said to have subdued the Mauryas but they seem to have become independent as soon as they got an opportunity to do so possibly at the death of Mangaleśa. The town Puri on the west coast said in v. 21 to have been conquered by Pulikeśin II was probably the capital of the Mauryas. Pulikeśin is further said to have defeated the kings of Lāta, Mālava and Gujarat countries. Inscriptions show that a small Chalukya family began to rule over Lāta since this time. These kings cannot be identified with certainty. The greatest achievement of Pulikeśin as referred to in v. 23 is that he forced Harsha, the paramount sovereign of northern India to retire discomfited. This victory of Pulikeśin mentioned also by Hsuen Tsiang, is naturally made much of in the inscriptions of his successors and we see that Pulikeśin after the defeat of Harsha had assumed the title of Paramēśvara (*E. Ind.* VII 163). Pulikeśin kept a strong force on the

1921-1922 p. 95) Similarly a copper plate inscription of a Nala king is found at Kithapur in the Berars which shows that that country also was once governed by the Nalas. See Ep. Ind XIX p. 100. The Mauryas were evidently the rulers of N. Konkana and the Kadambas ruled over the western parts of Belgaum and Dharwar districts and eastern part of North Kanara district. The Kadamba king defeated by Kirtivarman was probably Krishnavarman II. (Dubreuil op. cit p. 112). From another inscription Kirtivarman seems to have performed some sacrifices. In his time some very beautiful temples were built by the initiation of his younger brother Mangaleśa. Kirtivarman was succeeded by Mangaleśa in about 597 A. D. He is said in our inscription to have been governing the country between the eastern and western seas, to have subdued the Kalachuri king and to have seized the Revatidvipa, which is identified with modern 'Redi' eight miles to the south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district in the Bombay Presidency. The Kalachuri king defeated by him is not named in our record but from other inscriptions we know that he was Buddharāja, son of Ś'ankaragana of the early Kalachuri (Hahaya) family (Dubreuil op cit p. 82). We have, therefore, to suppose that Mangaleśa had invaded Gujrat and Malva where Buddharaja was ruling. Mangaleśa is said to have built the famous Vishnu temple at Bādāmi during the time of his elder brother Kirtivarman and issued some gifts. From vv. 14 and 15 it seems that Mangaleśa had tried to make his son his successor, and had exiled Pulakeśin the son of his elder brother Kirtivarman but somehow Pulakeśin secured the kingdom in about A. D. 610. He was the greatest ruler of the time and the sovereign lord of almost the whole of southern India. He bore many epithets but our inscription gives only one namely, Satyāśraya. Taking advantage of the confused condition of the kingdom at the death of Mangaleśa the once conquered kings tried to make themselves independent. The kings Appayika and Govinda invaded the

territory north of the river Bhaimarathi (modern Bhima)
The former king was defeated and the latter was made an ally. Nothing definite is known of these kings.

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जलनिधिरिव व्योम v. 21	भुवस्तलमिव व्योम Iv. 29	
दण्डोपनत v. 22	दण्डोपनतचरित Iv 29	
चर्याचार्यो अभवत् v. 22	आचार्यकं चके XII. 78	...
भुवमुसुभि...रेवा v. 24	मार्गैपिणी सा कटकान्तरेषु xvi. 31	—
शोभावन्धविन्ध्य v. 24	विन्ध्यस्य संस्तंभयिता xii 1	—
यस्य दुर्गम v. 27	अरीणो तस्य दुर्लभ xvii. 70	—
अम्बरमिवोजितसान्ध्यगगं v. 28	गल्लितांग रागैः xvi. 58	स्थगितवारिद- पेक्त्या संध्या ix 9,
	सान्ध्य मेघसधिराद्रवाससः xi 60	
पट्टिधं बलं v. 29	पट्टिधं बलमादाय iv. 26.	—
	स गुणो बलानां च पणां xvii. 67.	
सञ्छन्नकाशीपुर v. 29	रजोन्धकार vii. 39.	शरान्धकार xvii. 20
कावेरी दृतदाफरी v. 30	म मैत्र्यपरिभोगेन...	शफरी परिस्तु रितचा-
	कावेरी सरितं Iv. 45	रदशः vi 16 iv 3 vii. 35.
जित्वा मूमिपतीन् etc v 32	इति जित्वा दिशो etc v.
	85, 86	
वातार्पो नगरं प्रविश्य etc.	सवेलावप्रवलयां...पूरिव I 80	—
	v 32	

The metres used in the *prastāvi* are —

आर्या vv. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7; आर्यागीति v 37; औपच्छन्दसिक vv. 9, and 26; इन्द्रवज्रा v. 19; उपजाति v. 6; व्रतविलम्बित v. 10; प्रहर्षिणी v. 30; गतेभवित्रीडित v. 18; मन्दाक्रान्ता v. 17. मालिनी v. 13, 23, 24, and 25; रघोद्धता v. 8; वसन्ततिलक v. 11, 14, 28, and 35; वंशस्थ, v. 12; शार्दूलविक्रीडित v. 5, 29, and 32; श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) v. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34, and 36; अग्नय v 16; ह्रीरिणी v. 21.

When the king was asleep he did shut his eyes, and showed that he was a mortal. But the pre-eminence of his form showed him to be a god. v. 7 श्रीवल्लभ is a title or personal appellation of Pulakeśin. The idea is that though he had already espoused इन्दुकान्ति (moon-like beauty) and was 'the lord of श्री' still he (as if marrying a third time) became the bridegroom of the city of Vātāpi. The town Vātāpipurī is represented by the poet as a newly married woman. Some scholars take the word इन्दुकान्ति to mean the place from where Pulikeśin migrated (*Dubrenil Anc. Decc.* p 111) v. 7 वत्तापिपुरी—It can be identified with modern Badāmi in the Bijaur district. The place is said to have got its name as Agastya destroyed here the demon-brothers Vātāpi and Hvala. (See *Ind. Ant.* VIII. p 238). v. 7 वधुवस्तां अयासीत्—went to the condition of being the bridegroom of the bride. v. 8 त्रिवर्ग—i. e. Dharma, Artha and Kāma. v. 8 अक्षयमज्जनं—The bath that is taken after the conclusion of a sacrifice by the yajamana with his wife. V. 9 The second half of this stanza contains a fine conceit. V. 10. गन्धगज is an elephant of the best kind the fragrance of whose ichor other elephants cannot stand. 'यस्य गन्धं समग्राय न तिष्ठन्ति प्रलेदिपाः । स वै गन्धगजो नाम नृपेर्विजयावहः ॥ स्वेदमूत्रं पुरीषं च मज्जां चैव मतङ्गजाः । यस्याग्राय विमाद्यन्ति तं विद्याद् गन्धहस्तिनम् ॥' कदम्ब—mark the pun on the word v 11 तस्मिन्सुरेश्वर etc. i. e. when he died. v. 12 लक्ष्म किञ्च भेलायेत—This suggests that he was preferred by the people to Mangaleśa and his son (*Fleet Ind. Ant.* 1899 p. 244) v 14. भारद्वाज—etc रुध् with अप means to debar, to banish, to exile. अपरुद्धस्य चरिते (=चरणे) व्यवसायादिमया (=निधना) बुद्धिः यस्य. The whole phrase suggests that Pulikeśin, either banished by Mangaleśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked

then assistance in the recovery of his rights v 15 २८—
 Governs Pulikeśin in the preceding verse मन्त्रोत्तराद्वशात्—
 Regal power is made of three elements प्रभुशक्ति power of
 great position मन्त्रशक्ति power of good counsel and उत्साहशक्ति
 power of energy Pulikeśin being devoid of प्रभुशक्ति could only
 possess the other two According to Prof^s Gajendragadhar and
 Karamarkar the प्रभुशक्ति means the majesty or personal magne-
 tism Pulikeśin had it within himself He had therefore to
 gain from outside the other two i.e. he had to secure good
 counsellors and inspire his followers with energy When he
 did this he could easily undermine the power of Mangaleśa
 This stanza is a good example of the figure सहोक्ति
 V 16 तावत्तच्छत्रभगे etc The verse states that as the
 rising sun dissipates the darkness of night so Pulikeśin
 dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of
 Mangaleśa's rule (lit of the umbrella which is the sign of
 sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm Taking advantage
 of the confused condition at the Chāḷukya court caused
 by the quarrel for succession between Mangaleśa and Pulikeśin
 the enemies of the Chalukyas made bold to infest their territories
 Some of the feudatories seem to have even revolted
 as is seen from their reconquest by Pulikeśin When Mang-
 aleśa's power was definitely broken Pulikeśin drove all these
 enemies away by his irresistible arms. अलिकुल . . . वायातम्—
 The idea is that when the wind is blowing very forcibly the
 sky cannot become dark like the swarm of bees by the over-
 crowding of clouds The clouds are bound to disappear by the
 velocity of the wind Similarly when a strong man like Pulikeśin
 seized the throne the empire could not be infested by
 hordes of enemies (अरिकुल) who could seize the outskirts of
 the empire (क्षुण्णपर्यन्तभाग) and in the armies of which there
 could be flags and roaring elephants तावत्—no sooner than
 *रुद्ध जगत् *ततिभि इव प्रभात आकाशमासीत् । प्रभातं is a predicative

adjective of जगत् । यत् = जातं. Dr. Kielhorn states that though the poet employing the figure of अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of stormclouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words, पताकः, पर्यन्तभाग, गर्ज, अलिमुल, (अलि readily suggests अरि र् and ल् being interchangeable) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed. The question ending with कदा वा undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (न कदापि)

With the second half of the verse compare Varāhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake. बृहत्संहिता XXX. 17. Parallelisms with the *Raghuvamśa* and *Kīrā-tārjunīya* have already been shown. V. 17. यस्यानीकैः etc. This indicates that the first king was regularly defeated but the second king of his own accord sought his friendship. The word अनीक is used by the poet as many as six times. उपवृत्तम् उपकार. It may mean 'service' done by Govinda of 'Kindness' shown by Pulikesin V. 18. रदत्तु etc. The city of Vanavāsti being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *hamśa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Vanavāsti was really a fortress on land. But when it was besieged by the vast army of Pulakesin, which created the impression of an ocean assumed the appearance of a fortress in water. अवमृद-*reduce*. This is a good instance of उत्प्रेक्षा. V. 19 आसनसेवामृतपानशौण्डाः etc. Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards by drinking the nectar in the form of attendance on the emperor. This is a good example of विरोधमास. The seven vices are—

युतं मांसं सुरा वेद्याश्चेष्टचौर्यं पराङ्मनाः ।

महापापानि सप्तैव व्यसनानि त्यजेद्दुधः ॥

V. 20 मैथिल्यल etc. The comparison is a proverbial one.

V. 21 पुराभिद्ध lit. the destroyer of Pura i. e. the god Śiva.

Three demons, Tāraksha, Kamalāksha and Vidyunmālin, sons of Tāraka had obtained three cities as a boon from Brahmā. They were built for them by Maya, the architect of the gods and were made of gold, silver and iron and were situated in the sky, in the air and on the earth respectively. When these demons began to trouble the world, Śiva, at the request of the gods burnt the three cities. Hence he is known as Tripurārī, Purābhīd etc. See Mahābhārata, Karna, 24 and 27. 'Destroyer of cities' is also an epithet of Indra and recalls his exploits in the Veda. There he is described as demolishing the cities or fortresses of his enemies i. e. the clouds. See ऋग्वेद X 89. 7. In the stanza the ships are first compared with elephants and as such they are further likened to clouds.

V. 22 प्रतापोपनता etc. Although the Lātas etc. impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. गुर्जर—This was evidently an early Gurjar family ruling in Broach district. They were probably a branch of the Gurjaras of Mandor in Rajaputana. See *Proceedings of the First Ori. Conf. Vol. I p. cxxvii*.

V. 23 हर्षः—The most important victory of Pulikeśin which greatly enhanced his reputation and which is mentioned with pride in Chalukya documents was his defeat of Harshavardhana, who having subdued almost the whole of Northern India wished to extend his conquests in the South but was frustrated in his attempt by the heroic stand of Pulikeśin. This battle took place probably in A. D. 630. V, 24 सुव...स्वर्द्धयेव—Dr. Kielhorn finds in this stanza a reference to the story of the Vindhya and Agastya and according to him the idea in it is this—Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is that the elephants were

higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone, there the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have tried to grow higher in rivalry and thus transgressed the command of the sage Agastya that it should not go higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.

But it is not necessary to refer to the legend. The simple meaning is this, Finding Pulikesin too strong an opponent Harshavardhana gave up all thoughts of his conquest of the Deccan. Having thus no fear from further invasion from the North it was not necessary for Pulikesin, whose strength of forces was well known, to keep his armies consisting of huge elephants occupy the Vindhya regions to guard against the North Indian emperor. The regions were quite clean of any armies and therefore shone. But the poet fancies that they shone more because they were quite free from their rivals, the huge elephants who had no reason to go there.

V. 25 शक्रकल्प He was like Indra because like that god he possessed certain Śaktis but was inferior to him because his Śaktis were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel and energy, while Indra possesses eight Śaktis (Indrani etc.) Hence the king is शक्रकल्प—कल्प meaning ईषन्त्यून somewhat inferior. But it is better to take कल्प not in the strict sense but in the general sense of resembling. V. 25 माहाकुल—According to Pāṇini IV. 1. 1-11 it means 'born in a noble family. But here it is used as an abstract noun. V. 27 यस्य दुर्गम् etc. Against Pāṇini II. 3. 69 the genitive case is used in construction with दुर्गम् in accordance with the maxim खल्वर्थयोगेऽपि शेषविवक्षायां षष्ठीमुच्यन्ति । V. 28 कौनालं जलं—the waters of the Kunāla lake, which is identified with modern Kolleru lake, south of Pithapuram between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. V 29 उद्धत...अन्धकार—The darkness raised by the troops is the dust. Besides in the Raghuvamśa, as shown,

above we have a similar idea in विक्रमादित्यचरित I. 75 [खगान्यकार]
 The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries etc. मौल Hereditary troops, see in No 9. बलरज...प्राकारान्तरित—this is a Karmadhāraya compound. The splendour of the Pallava, when he was defeated in the open, was first only obscured, afterwards, when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress, it entirely vanished. Here the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun. This is Kielhorn's interpretation. He takes संछन्न another adjective of शताप. Splendour obscured by dust and vanished behind walls. But the simple idea seems to be that the Pallava's valour was made to confine in the ramparts of Kānchīpurā enveloped by the dust of Pulikesen's army V 30 कावेरी etc. The verse clearly was suggested to our author by Raghu. IV 45 ससैन्यपरिभोगेन गजदानमुगन्धिना । कावेरी सरिता पत्यु शङ्खनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥ By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing etc. and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting juice of their elephants. Raghu made the river Kaveri an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. Raviśrī too mentions the rutting juice, but does so in a more *epithelon ornans* which he might as well have omitted because in his verse the real reason for the Kaveri's keeping away from the ocean is that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Pulikeśin crossed the river. Raviśrī has spoiled Kalidāsa's verse by crowding into it an idea from the Raghu IV 38 सतीर्त्वा वपिना सैन्यैर्बद्धिरदसेतुमि । The epithet of the Kaveri द्रतशरी etc was apparently suggested as shown above, by the epithet शफरीपरिस्फुरितचाक्षरा, in the Kurat VI 1 30 कावेरी —An important river in south India. It has its source in western Ghats and flows through the Mysore state and continuing through Trichinopoly district reaches the sea in the delta

of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad Kadamba trees—the *Kadambas*.

V. 11 When his desire was bent on the domain of the lord of the gods, (i. e. when he died) his younger brother *Mangaleśa* became king who by the sheets of dust of his army of horses, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched a canopy over the quarters. V. 12 Who, having dispelled the mass of darkness in the form of the elephants (of the enemies) with hundreds of lamps in the form of swords having shining rays, obtained in the house in the form of the battle-field, possession (in marriage) of the damsel in the form of the Fortune of the *Katachchhuris*.

V. 13 And again, when he was desirous of taking the *Island of Revati*, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, appeared as it was reflected in the water of the great sea like Varuna's forces, quickly come there at his word (of command). V. 14 When his elder brother's son, named *Polekeśin*, of a dignity like Nahusha's was coveted by fortune, and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile. V. 15 That *Mangaleśa*, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by him (*Pulikesin*) abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both his vast kingdom and his life. V. 16 No sooner his sovereignty was overthrown than the whole world which was enveloped in the darkness of enemies received the shining dawn being as though overpowered by the rows of the lustre of his irresistible valour. When indeed does the sky go to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning are dancing like banners, and the edges of which are crushed when the violent wind (is blowing)? V. 17 When, having found the opportunity, he, who was named *Aṭṭyāśik a* and

Govinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country lying north of the *Bhaimarathi*, the one in Lattle through his armies came to know the taste of fear while the other at once obtained there the fruit of the service rendered by him V 18 When he was reducing *Panavāsi* which had for a girdle rows of *hamsa* birds sporting on the stage of the high waves of the *Varadī* and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods that fortress on land having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great ocean of his army, seemed to the looker on to be at once converted into a fortress in water V 19 Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven vices the *Ganga* and *Alupa* lords being won over by his dignity were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him V 20 In the *Konkanas* by the impetuous waves of the forces directed by him the rising wavelets of pools in the form of the *Maurjas* were violently swept away V 21, When, radiant like the destroyer of cities (i.e. Śiva or Indra) he was subduing *Puri*, the glory of the western sea with hundreds of ships in appearance like an array of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue like a new lotus and overspread with an army of thick clouds, resembled the sea and the sea was like the sky V 22 Subdued by his splendour the *Lalas Malavas* and *Gurjaras* became as it were teachers of (the lesson of) the behaviour of feudatories, 'subdued by force V 23 *Harsha* whose lotus feet were covered with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured wealth was by him made to lose his mirth (*harsha*) in fear having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle. V. 24 While he was ruling the earth with his vast armies, the neighbourhood of the *Vindhya*, rich in the beauty of various sand banks of the *Reva* shone the more by the greatness of its own lustre having to be avoided by his elephants because as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains V 25 Almost equal

to Indra, he by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by the collection of his qualities such as nobility of birth and others acquired the sovereignty over the three *Mahārāshtrakas* comprising of nine and ninety thousand villages. V. 26 The Kalingas, along with the Kosalas, who were eminent in the pursuit of the three (objects of life) because of the proper qualities of their householders, and who could effect the breaking of the pride of other kings, were made to evince signs of fear by (the power of) his army.

V. 27 Hard pressed (*ṣiṣṭa*) by him *Pishlatura* became a fortress not difficult of access; (but) strange (to say) the ways of the Kali age to him were quite inaccessible. V. 28 Ravaged by him, the water of Kunāla the interior of which was covered with arrays of accoutred elephants coloured with the blood of men killed with various weapons, became like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen. V. 29. With his six-fold forces, the hereditary troops and others, which raised hundreds of spotless chowries, flags, umbrellas, and darkness by dust, and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, he made the the lord of the Pallavas who had opposed the rise of his power have his valour concealed behind the ramparts of Kāncīpura, enveloped in the dust of his armies. V. 30 When straightway he strove to conquer the Cholas, the Kāveri, who has the darling caips for her tremulous eyes, had her waters blocked by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting juice was dripping down, and consequently avoided the contact with the ocean. V. 31 There he who was the hot-eyed sun to the hoar-frost in the form of the army of the Pallavas, caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas, and Pāndyas. V. 32 While he, Satyāśraya, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery, and good counsel, having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to Gods and Brahmanas, having entered the city of Vatāpi, is ruling like one city, this earth

which has the dark-blue waters of the surging seas for its moat. V. 33 When thirty (*and*) three thousand and five years joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the Bhārata war to now V. 34 And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age ; V. 35 This stone mansion of Jinendra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the talented Ravikīrti who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyaśraya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans. V. 36 Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina the teacher of the three worlds, the blessed Ravikīrti himself is the author and also the founder. V. 37 May that Ravikīrti be victorious, who full of discernment has made use of the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme, and who by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi.

No. 13.

Udaipur Stone Inscription of Aparājita.

General Remarks—This inscription is engraved in very beautiful characters of the *Kulila* script on a slab of stone, which was originally found in the Kundesvara temple near Nagadā in Mewar in Rajaputana and is now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur, the capital of Mewar. It was edited by the late Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol IV p. 29. The inscribed portion, which measures 1' 6½" broad by 10½" high contains 12 lines of writing.

The contents of the inscription can be divided into the following sections—

- 1 Invoking the protection of the god Vishnu under the names of Hari and Śauri ; vv. 1—2.
- 2 In the Guhila family king Aparājita was born; v. 3

- 3 He had appointed Varāhasimha, son of Śiva, as his general, as Indra had appointed Skanda son of the god Śiva ; vv. 4—5.
- 4 His wife was Yaśomati, who built a temple of Vishnu v. 6—8.
- 5 In the rainy season : v. 9.
- 6 Prayer for the everlasting preservation of the temple ; v. 10.
- 7 The praśasti was composed by Dāmodara, son of Brahmachāri and grandson of Dāmodara, v. 11.
- 8 It was engraved by Yaśobhata. v. 12.
- 9 The temple was inaugurated on the fifth of the bright half of Mārgasīrsha in the year 718. v. 13

Aparājita of the inscription was a king of the famous Guhila family of Mewar, whose descendants are ruling to this day. He succeeded Śīlāditya or Śīla whose Samoli inscription of V. S. 703 is found, but his relation with Śīla is not known. (See R. B. Ojha's *History of Rajaputana* Vol. II p. 403).

The inscription is dated in the year 718, which must refer to the Vikrama era. It is therefore equivalent to 661 A. D. Mr. K. G. Śankar suggests that the date 661 A. D. for Dāmodara II suggests that his grandfather was perhaps identical with Dāmodara, the friend of Bhāravi, the protege of Vishnuvardhana, Durvinita and Simhavishnu and the great-grandfather of Dandin. The poetry of the inscription is on the whole a good one. The poet, Dāmodara, seems to be fond of using puns as is seen specially from the fourth and the fifth verses. V. 10 is an excellent example of the author's fondness for alliteration. The language used in the record is not always correct as the word *सुर-द्रुतनव* in v. 1 shows. The word *तनु* seems to be used in the sense of *तन्वी* a slender or graceful woman. Similarly the form *तरन्* in v. 8 in the sense of

नरिष्यती is inaccurate. The compound स्फुरद्...कृत् in v. 3 is a bad one. In v. 9 the poet has altogether omitted the word काले which is quite indispensable. The metres used in the *prastāva* are—आर्या v. 13 ; ईद्वज्रा v. 7 ; उपजाति v. 4 ; द्रुतावलंबित v. 5 ; रघोद्धता v. 6 ; शार्दूलविक्रीडित vv. 1, and 3 ; शिखरिणी v. 8 ; श्लोक अनुष्टम्भ vo. 11 and 12 ; and स्रग्धरा vo. 2, 9 and 10.

Notes—V. 2 गण्डशैलाः huge rocks. रयः force.

V. 7 आरन्धकी a harlot (because of her constant change of masters, the goddess of fortune is often likened to a harlot)

V. 8 तरन् stands for तरत् or तारयत् referring to भवन or the masculine form is used instead of the feminine, तरन्ती or rather तारयन्ती. V. 12 पूर्व This word occurs at the end of the inscriptions Nos 5 and 8 above.

Translation.

V. 1 May the (god) Hari protect (you) for whom women of the cowherds entertain a longing think thus—Happy are in the world the celestial beautiful women who attain bliss, when a certain woman is touched in sport on her breast by his finger nails, another by her hair being drawn, a third by falling at her feet as he was under the influence of passion and a fourth by embracing her neck. V. 2 May the strong arms (lit bar-like arms) of Śauri i. e. Vishnu which act like the pillars in upholding the house of the three worlds, which are prepared for checking the force of the unfathomable waterflow in the form of the worldly existence, which are the axes capable of cutting the thick forest of trees in the form of the best of Asuras, puffed up with pride, which are like huge rocks in the ocean lasting (even) at the dissolution of the world, and which are used as a pleasure cushion by Lakshmi. V. 3 There was a celebrated king named

Aparājita, born in the pure ocean of the Guhila lineage, an ornament of the earth, resembling the round and pure Kaustubha jewel because of his pure conduct, who was paid homage with their foreheads by kings, who destroyed the arrogance of the wicked and vicious people and dispersed the dense darkness by his shining rays. V. 4 He chose for his chief leader (i. e. the commander of his forces) the son of (a man named) Śiva, the Maharāja Varāhasimha, whose store of strength was never diminished and who assailed the vile adversaries, as Indra had chosen for his general (god) Śiva's son, Śkanda, whose power and arms are never broken and who rides on a peacock (the enemy of serpents). V. 5 Whose fame surrounded by (high) qualities, though established (in other sense though firm by being bound with ropes) spreads itself and moves in the quarters, which though sung (lit. taken) by people is free from diminution, and which though white has reddened (i. e. pleased the people on) the surface of the earth. V. 6 His loving (house) wife was one bearing the name Yasomati, who was possessed of glory, who checked the mind from going astray. In modesty (or high righteous conduct or wisdom) she resembled (lit. became) Arundhati. V. 7 The goddess of fortune (Lakshmi) is a harlot; Gauri is attached, to Sthānū (lit. immovable) and Rati is overcome with the grief of widowhood (at the death of her husband Cupid). (Thus) the lady (Yasomati) being incomparable in the three worlds stood in the fore-front of matrons. V. 8 Seeing the goddess of wealth (as fickle) as the twinkling of her own eye, youth and wealth as unsteady as the clouded interval part of a very small wave, she built (lit. made) a firm temple of the god Vishnu (enemy of Kaitabhā) which would (enable her to) cross the ocean of the worldly existence, full of crocodiles in the form of evil passions. V. 9 The temple of the god Vishnu (enemy of the demon Naraka) was built in that (season) in which the autumnal winds bearing drops of water blow high-winds, which throw around

the rows of clouds, which shake off the plumage of the peacocks dancing with a low tone under the influence of passion, which (winds) open out (lit. break forth) the pointed blades of the ketaka trees darkened with the pollen coming out of the burst capsules. V 10. May the famous temple of (the god) Śauri which is attested to by saluting Brahmanas, who have observed their vows, last so long as the sun's horse having high colours hurt by the points of their hoofs the clouds, the enclosed seas with their unequalled waters do not sweep over the surface of the earth, the regions of the Meru (mountain) resorted to by the celestial beings and fragrant with the blossoms of the *namaren* trees. V. 11 (This) mockery of a poem was composed by (a man) named Dāmodara, the son of Brahmachāri and the grandson of Dāmodara. V. 12 This (eulogy) that precedes was engraved in a clear way with beautiful letters by young Yaśobhata, son of Vatsa and grandson of Ajita. V. 13 The consecration (ceremony) of Vāsudeva (was performed) on the fifth of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year seven hundred increased by eighteen.

Obeisance to Vāsudeva,

No 14

Aphsad Stone Inscription of Adityasena

General Remarks This inscription was discovered by Major Kittoe some time before 1850 and was published in various places till in 1888 Dr. Fleet edited it critically in his *Gujarat Inscriptions* pp. 200 ff. It is engraved on a stone—slab in the village Aphsad in the Nawada subdivision of the Gaya District. Unfortunately this original stone is now missing. The inscribed portion measuring 2' 9" broad by 1' 5½" high has suffered a great deal from the effects of the weather. It contains 28 lines of writing in *Kulūla* characters.

The inscription is sectarian its principal object being to re-

rulers are known from this inscription and three more names, Devagupta, Vishnugupta and Jivitagupta, are known from another inscription. (*F. G. I.* Nos. 46). This family was ruling contemporary first with the Maukhari family of Kanauj (No. 8 above in the Selections), with whom there was going on a hereditary fight and secondly with the Vardhana family of Kanauj, with whom they were on friendly terms.

The Later Guptas

Krisbnagupta

Harshagupta

Jivitagupta

Kumāragupta

Dāmodaragupta

Mahāsenagupta

Mādhavagupta

Ādityasena

The Maukharies

Harivarman

Ādityavarman

Isvaravarman

Isānavarman

Śarvavarman

Avantivarman

Grihavarman

V. 8 of our record states that Kumāragupta defeated a king named Isānavarman. The latter must have been a king of the Maukhari family whose inscription of 555 A.D. is found at Haraha (No. 8 above). Kumāragupta's son Dāmodaragupta is said further in V. 11 to have died while fighting with a Maukhari king who had routed the Hūna troops. The Maukhari king was probably Śarvavarman, the son of Isānavarman. Nothing is known of the Hūna king. Probably a Hūna army had invaded India for the third time in about 580 A.D.—their first invasion being towards the close of the Imperial Kumāragupta's reign in about 450 and the second, more successful than the first, was led by the famous Toramāna in 510—but was defeated by Maukhari Śarvavarman, who was certainly a powerful king. V. 14 of the record states that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman in a battle on the bank of the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputrā. This Susthitavarman is known to us from the Nidhanpur inscription (*Ep. Ind.* XII 70, XIX 115) as the father of Bhāskaravarman,

the well known ruler of Kāmarūpa (Assam) who was a friend of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj. This helps us to assign about 625 A.D. as the date of Sushitavarman and consequently of our Mahāsenagupta. V. 18 suggests that Mahāsenagupta's son Kumāragupta was an ally of Harshadeva, evidently the Kanauj emperor. There is reason to believe from this and from the fact that Bhāskaravarman was a friend and subordinate of Harsha that the Magadha king Mahāsenagupta might have fought against the Kāmarūpa Sushitavarman on behalf of Harshavardhana (or his father) and thus the Kāmarūpa family became a feudatory of the Kanauj family.

The date of the inscription.—The inscription is undated. But since it belongs to the time of Ādityasena, of whom the Śāhāpur stone inscription of (Harsha) samvat 66 i. e. 672 A. D. (*F. G. I.* No. 43) is found we can assign this inscription to about the last quarter of the seventh cent. A. D.

As regards the poetical value of the *prasaśti* it can be said that it is written in a high Gauda style, in which more attention is given for pompousness in diction and in figures and superabundance of compounds (cf Dandin's *Kāvya-darśa* i, 50 and 80). The language of the inscription, Dr. Fleet writes, offers about the earliest instance of the hyperbolical expressions and mythological allusions with which the later inscriptions abound, distinguishing them so completely from the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical, style of the more ancient records. The poet uses a number of *upamās* in the *prasaśti*. Some of the ideas are too often repeated e. g. the idea of breaking the temples of the enemy's elephants is found in vv. 1, 11, 19, 21, 24 and 25. The metres used in the inscription are—*आर्या* vv. 2, 4, 6, 7, 12 and 15; *वसन्ततिलकं* vv. 11, 18, 19 and 22; *शार्दूलविकीर्णितं* vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 28, and 29. *श्लोक* (अनुष्टुभ) vv. 9, 10, 13, 23, 27 and 30; and *सप्तम* vv. 9, 10, 13, 23, 27 and 30.

Notes- दन्तिसहस्र etc. The meaning of these terms is to be taken both in the case of Krishnagupta and the mountain. दन्ति-In his army and in the mountain. विद्याधराभ्यासित is to be taken in two senses, in one विद्याधर means a learned man and in the other the semidivine beings. सद्गुण-in one sense born of a good family and in the other having good bamboo trees. V. 2 सकल etc. are to be taken both with reference to the king and the moon. V. 3 The first half of the verse is rather difficult. v. 4 ह्यारि.....शिशिरकरः—Compare with this the expression दानवाहनामुखाम्भोजलक्ष्मीतुषारेण विष्णुना in the Tushām inscription. F. - G. I. No. 66. v. 6 कोशार्धन—It is not known which mountain is denoted by this name. It is not found mentioned in the Ramayana nor in any other Paurānic literature. It was probably the Mahendra mountain from which, as stated in the Ramayana Hanuman jumped. But this Mahendra mountain is different from the Mahendra mountain in the Kalinga province. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.* II. p. 349). पवनजस्य—i. e. of Hanumat, who was one of the most celebrated of a host of semi divine apes, who were created to become the allies of Rama in his war with Ravana. The leaders of this army of monkeys were supposed to be the offspring of various gods; and Hanumat was the son of Pavana or Maruta, the Wind. v. 7 शिखिवाहनं lit—one who rides on a peacock. i. e. Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva. One of the names of Kārtikeya is Kumāra. Hence the comparison between him and Kumāragupta. v. 8 रक्षसा—She is often described as the representative of royal power. मन्दरीभूय—The allusion in the verse is to the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons for the recovery of the nectar and other precious things that had been lost. The mountain Mandāra was utilised as the churning stick. And, during the process, Lakshmi sprang up from the froth of the sea See Vishnupurāna I. 9-76

were covered with the stems of plantain trees cut by the trunks of elephants roaming through the very lofty groves of palm-trees; (or) even though they stood on the mountain cold with the water of the torrents rushing forth and spreading sprays all around. V. 6. Even still his superhuman deeds are regarded with astonishment by all people like the leap of (the monkey Hanumat) the son of the Wind from the side of (the mountain) Kōśavardhana. V. 7 That King begat one son, by name Kumāragupta, of renowned strength, foremost in battle; just as (the god) Hara (Śiva) begat a son, (Kumāra or Kārtikeya) who rides upon the peacock. V. 8. By whom, playing the part of (the mountain) Mandāra, there was quickly churned out the milk-ocean, in the form of the formidable army of (i. e. which flourished with) the moon in the form of the illustrious king Iśānavarman, the milk-ocean, which was the means of the acquisition of Lakshmi (the goddess of Fortune), which had (its) spreading rows of waves in the form of the plantain-trees wantonly shaken by the violent wind (caused by the marching of the troops), (and) had (its) rocks, in the form of the ponderous and mighty rutting elephants (of the forces), whirled round by the flow of water in the form of the flying dust (stirred up by the soldiers). V. 9, Observing the vow of heroism and truth, (even) in (the possession of) wealth, he went to Prayāga; (and there), being decorated with flowers, he plunged into a fire of dry cow-dung cakes, as if into water. V. 10. The son of that king was Dāmodara-gupta, by whom (his) enemies were slain, just like the demons by (the god) Dāmodara. V. 11. Breaking up the proudly roaring array of mighty elephants, of the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas (in order to trample them to death', he became unconscious (and expired in the fight); (and then, waking again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying "(this one or that) belongs to me, " he was revived by the pleasing

touch of the waterlilies in the form of their hands V. 12 He, (while he was) a king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of Brāhmanas endowed with many ornaments and with youth, (and) dowered with grants of *agracharas* (villages granted to Brahmanas). V. 13. From him there was (born) a son, (named) Mahasenagupta, the foremost of heroes who in all the assemblages of heroes acquired (reputation) as a hero of the foremost rank V. 14 whose bright fame marked with the honour of victory in war over Susthitavarman, (and) [white] as a full blown jasmine-flower or waterlily, or as a necklace of pure and well formed (pearls) is still constantly sung on the banks of (the river) Lauhitya the surfaces of which are cool by the pairs of Siddhas awakened up after sleeping in the shade of fully developed betel plants. V. 15 As (the good) Mādhava, whose feet are graced by the services of (the goddess) Śrī, (was born) from Vāsudeva, so from him there was born (a son), named Madhavagupta, who was preeminently the sentiment of valour and whose feet were graced by the attentions of the goddess of fortune. V. 16 He being remembered in the foremost rank being the leader of those who acquire renown in war, (and) being a repository of goodness the best of those who excel in the collection and bestowal of riches the natural home of wealth, truth and learning, (and) a firm embankment of religion --there is no one on the earth who is (as) worthy to be praisedby virtues, V. 17 He also, carried a discus in the palm of (his) hand like Vishnu holding the *chakra* (discus) to him also belonged a bow made of horn, like Vishnu holding the Śarnga *dhanus* and to him also belonged a piercing sword (which was employed) for the destruction of (his) enemies (and) for the happiness of his friends like Vishnu who holds the *nandaka* sword who has (and), when the slaughter of (his) foes had been achieved was averted by him,

Rāgim Copperplate Inscription of Tivaradeva.

General Remarks—This inscription engraved on three copperplates each measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ was first published in 1825 in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol XV. 499. It was last edited with a facsimile by Dr. Fleet in his *Gujra Inscriptions* No 81. The plates were discovered in 1785 A. D. in the town of Rāgim on the right bank of the Mahanadi river about twenty-four miles to the south-east of Raipur in C. P. and are at present preserved in the temple of the god *Rājivalochana* there. The royal seal attached to the plates has a figure of *Garuda* with the head of a man and the body of a bird with his wings expanded and with a serpent over each shoulder. On the right of this is a *chakra* and on the left is a *śankha*. Below this is a legend in two lines given as verse one in the text.

The inscription is non-sectarian its object being to record the grant by king Mahāśiva Tivaradeva of the Pānduvamśa ruling over the Kosala country to two Brāhmanas of the village of Pimparipadraka in the Penthāma *bhukti*, on the twelfth lunar day of Jyeshtha. The charter was however assigned on the eighth lunar day of the month of Kārtika in the seventh year of the reign, evidently of Tivaradeva. King Tivaradeva mentioned in the record was, as we know from other inscriptions, the son of Nannadeva, grandson of Indrabala and great-grandson of Udayana, who was an enemy of the Pallava king Nandivarman. (See F. G. I. p. 293). One more copperplate inscription is found of Tivaradeva at Baloda (Ep. Ind. VII p. 102). The inscription does not give any distinct information as to the period to which it is to be referred. But on paleographical grounds it may be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A. D.

The poetry of the inscription is beautiful and reminds us of the long compounds and similes of the prose passages of Sanskrit prose writers like Bāṇa. The following metres are used.

in the record श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) in the first verse) आर्या in the second verse, but one short syllable is wanting in its second pāda वसततिलक, श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) and इन्द्रवज्रा are used in the three verses respectively in the last portion of the record

Notes V I श्रीमत्... ..तारकम्—This verse is engraved on the seal attached to the copperplate. कोसलाधिपते —The count-

ry of Kosala was divided in ancient times into two divisions the north or Uttara Kosala and the south or Dakshina Kosala also sometimes called Mahākosala. Sometimes the Dakshina Kosala country was known as Kosala only as in the present inscription. This Kosala comprised of evidently the modern Chattisgarh division of C. P. (Ind Hist Quart III p 68.) L 5

श्रीपुरे—It is modern Sirpur on the bank of the Mahānadi 37 miles north-east of Raipur, the head quarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in C. P. It was once the capital of Mahā Kosala (See Ep Ind vol xi p 184) पञ्चमहाशद्व It is better to take this as epithet of Tivaradeva by correcting the text as 'सद्योऽनेक' rather than an adjective of नृपति in the line. This epithet was

generally used with feudatory kings in ancient India Dr Fleet has discussed the use of this epithet with respect to kings and officers of high and low grades in Ep Ind XII 255 Dr Krishna svami Aiyangar also has discussed at some length the word in JBBPAS vol 1 (N S) P. 238 The term seems to denote a special privilege of using certain musical instruments as a mark of honour L 10 अकृतकरोद्देश—The word कर is used in two

senses in the sense of 'a tax' with reference to the king and in the sense of 'a ray' with reference to the moon. चन्द्रोदय

In contrast with the rays of the sun which are oppressive, the rays of the moon are pleasant रत्नसम्पद—The milk-ocean contains many jewels लक्ष्मी कौस्तुभ etc The fourteen were taken out of it

Summary the king wore a number of jewels मुजङ्गाद्वार—

with reference to the king it means 'the Naga race' and with reference to Garuda it means 'a serpent'. L. शत्रुकलत्र

—The description of the grief of the wives of the enemies de-

(and) who is by nature loving;—*Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja*,—who is the adopted son of the illustrious *Nannadeva*, who was the son of the illustrious *Indrabala*, (and) who adorned the lineage of *Pāndu*, who has allayed all the troubles of the world with the abundance of his religious merit, who has extracted all thorns with the needle of his wisdom, who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Vishnu*, (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents,—being in good health, (and) having done worship to the *Brāhmanas* at the (the village of) *Pimparipadraka* belonging to the *Penthāma bhukta*, issues a command to the residents :—

"Be it known to you, that this village is given by us, with libations of water, on the twelfth lunar day of (the month of) *Jyestha*, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself, to *Bhatta Bhavadatta* and *Bhatta Haradatta*, sons of *Bhatta Gauridatta*, of the *Bhāradvāja gotra* and the *Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina (śākha)*:—to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the sun and the moon and the stars; together with (its) hidden treasures and deposits; not to be entered into by the regular or the irregular troops; (and) accompanied by (the right of) receiving the income from the *dāradranaka* and all (other) taxes.

"Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness rendering to them, in a proper manner, (their) share of the enjoyment". And with reference to future kings this is said (lit. laid down). Those kings, who bestow land, enjoy pleasures in heaven; (but) alas ! those wicked (kings), who confiscate land (that has been given) fall into hell; bearing in mind these two (alternatives) and also that fortune (and) life are transient, do that which you prefer." The reward of protection is a good condition, and of omission to protect a bad condition; who, indeed, will (willingly) disregard heaven and go to hell? "Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to (the god) *Vishnu*; and cows are the daughters of the sun; therefore the three worlds (presided over by *Agni*, *Vishnu* and the Sun respectively) are given by him, who gives gold, and a cow, and land. On the eighth day of *Kārtika* in the year of (our) ever-increasing victorious rule.

INDEX.



(The number denotes the inscription in the Selections).

अप्रहारत्व	11	आप्पायिक	12
अक्षदीयविषय	11	आभिगामिक गुण	9
अद्युत	3	आभीर	3
अजित	13	आर्यावर्त्त	3
अटविकराज	3	आलुप	12
अनूप	1	आहरणी	9
अन्धक	7,8		
अपराजित	13	इन्दुकान्ति (place) ?	12
आपरान्त	1	इन्द्र	13
अप्सरोदेवी	11	इन्द्रबल	15
अस्न्धती	13	ईशानवर्मन्	8,14
अर्जुनायन	3	ईश्वर	11
अलर्क	6	ईश्वरवर्मन्	8
अवभृथमज्जन	12		
अवमुक्त	3	उग्रपुर	10
अशोक	1	उग्रसेन	3
अश्वपति	8	उत्पद्यमानविष्टिक	9
आहिच्छत्रा	11	उद्रह	9,11
		उपरिक	9,11
		उपरिकर	9
		उमा	10
आकरावन्ती	1	ऊर्जयत्	1,4
आदित्यवर्धन	11		
आदित्यवर्मन्	8		
आदित्यसेन	14	एकचकरय	11
आनर्त्त	1	एरंडपल्ल	3
आन्ध्राधिपति	8		

श्रीलिकर	7	घोसल	3,12,15
		कौनाल	12
यक्ष	6	इत	7
कटछुरि	12	प्रणयुत	14
कदम्ब	12	सारपरिक	3
कर्तपुर	3	स.घटपतिकरु	3
कलिंग	12	गहग (as गंग)	12
काक	3	गहगा	3,7,10
क.श्री	12	गणपतिनाम	3
कामरूप	3	गन्धगज	12
कालिदास	12	गन्धर्ष	5
कावेरी	12	गरड	4
विष्णु	5	गर्गराकट	8
कीर्तिवर्मन्	12	गिरिनगर	3
कुलुर	1	गुप्त (a family)	4,6
कुवेर	3	गुप्तकाल	4
कुमार (Kartikeya)	10	गुह्येन	9
कुमागामात्य	3,9,11	गुहिल	13
कुमारगुप्त	5,14	गूर्जर	12
कुमारशान्ति	3	गोपवनिता	13
कुलैष	1	गोविंद	6,7,12
कुस्पलपुर	3	गौड	8,14
केरल	12	गौरीदत्त	15
कोरल	3		
कैटभ	13	घटोत्कच	3
कैलास	5		
कोडकण	12	चक्रपालिका	4
कोटकुल	3	चन्द्र	2
कोहर	3	चन्द्रक	7
कोणदेवी	14	चन्द्रवर्म	3
नेमिक	14	चन्द्रगुप्त	1,3

चन्द्रार्क (स्थितिसम) कालीन	9,11	दूतक	9,11
चलुक्य	12	देवशुभ	11
चटन	1	देवभद्रिपक्षिकाग्राम	9
चाट	9,11	देवदाय	9
चोल	12	देवराष्ट्र	3
छन्दोगम्	11	दैवपुत्र	3
जन (जान) पद	1, 11,	दोषकुम्भ	7
जयदामन्	1	दौस्ताधसाध	11
जयसिंह बल्लभ	12	द्राक्षिक	9
जान्हवी	9	दोर्णासिंह	9
जिन (जिनेन्द्र)	12	धनञ्जय	3
जीवित शुभ	14	धनुर्वेद	5
ज्जलामुख	8	धरपट्ट	9
ज्योति-	5	धरसेन	9
कवाक	3	धर्मदोष	7
हिम्ब	7	धर्मराज	9
तपस्य	5	धान्यभागभोगहिरण्यादेव	9
तिलभट्ट	3	धाराखेट	9
तीवर देव	15	ध्रुवभूति	3
दुषास्क	1	ध्रुवसेन	9
दुर्द्धनशिखरि	6	ध्रुवाधिकरणिक	9
त्रिपुरान्तक	8	नन्दक	14
दमन	3	नान्दि	3
दशपूर	5, 9	नम्रदेव	15
दक्षिणापथ	1,3	नरकरिपु	13
दामोदर	1	नरवर्धन	11
दामोदर शुभ	14	नहुष	12
दिविरपति	9	नळ	12
		नागदत्त	3
		नागसेन	3
		निर्दोषनाम	7

निंवाद	1	प्रीतिप्रदधर्म	11
नीलराज	3	प्रभाकरवर्धन	11
नीहत्	1	प्रभुशक्ति	12
नेपाल	3	प्रमातार(र)	11
नेगम	7	प्रयाग	14
		प्रशस्ति	6,12,14
	15	प्राग्ज	7
पद्महाशब्द	6	प्राग्ज	3
पञ्चाङ्गलाघ	11	प्रीष्टपद	4
पयः	5		
पर्णदत्त	1	बन्धकी	13
पलाशिनी	12	बन्धुवर्मन्	5
पद्म	14	बपपादीयविहार	9
पद्मनज	1	बल	9
पद्मलव	15	बलवर्मन्	3
पाण्डुवंश	12	बलि	4
पाण्डव	7	बाहुन्व	11
पारियात्र	3	बाहुरेष्य	7
पालक	15	युर	9
भिमरिपद्रक	3,12	बृहत्तरित	5
पिष्टपुर	12	मङ्गनातिर	3
पुरीभद्	12		
पुरी	3	भगवद्दोष	7
पुष्प [नगर]	1	भट	9,11
पुष्पगुप्त	5,8,13	भटार्क	9
पूर्वा	15	भद्रपत्तन,	9
पेंठामभूक्ति	13	भद्रस्वामी	11
योत	12	भद्रेश्वर	10
योलेकेशि	4	भरत	6
पौर	12	भरद्वाजगोत्र	11,15
पृथिवीवल्लभ	1	भवदत्त	15
प्रणाली			

भववर्मेन्द्र	10	महेन्द्रगिरि	3
भालु	11	महेश्वरदासेनकम्पन	9
भालुगुप्ता	7	मादक	8
भारतावह	12	माधवगुप्त	4
भारवि	12	माध्यादिन	15
भिम्बु	9	मान्यघात	6
भुक्ति	11,15	मालव	3,5,12
भूमिच्छिद्रन्याय	9,11	मालवगज	7
भैमरथी	12	मिहिरकुल	6
त	9	मिहिरवर्मा	8
		मौड	1
मङ्गलेश	12	मुल्ल	8
मण्टराज	3	मुल्ल	3
मतिल	5	मुल्ल	5,10,13
मतु	6	मुल्ल	9
मन्दर	14	मुल्ल	14
मन्धन्व	1	मुल्ल	1,21
मर्वटसागर	11	मुल्ल	9,12
महत्तर	9	मुल्ल	4
महानन्दनगर	3		
महादण्डनायक	3		
महाप्रमाता	11	मुल्ल	8
महाराज	9,11	मुल्ल	1
महाराष्ट्र	9,12	मुल्ल	6,7
महाशिव	15	मुल्ल	13
महासामन्त	9,11	मुल्ल	11,13
महासेनगुप्त	14	मुल्ल	15
महासेनगुप्त	11	मुल्ल	15
महाशुद्ध	1	मुल्ल	
महाशुद्ध	11	मुल्ल	
महेन्द्र	3	मुल्ल	

राजस्थानीय	7,9,11	शिव	1 :
राम्यवर्धन	11	शीलादित्य	9
		शुक	5
रामदेव	14	शुभ	1
राजसनेय	15	शूलिक	8
रातभूतप्रत्याय	9	शौरि	13
रातापिपुठी	12	शौलिक	9
रालचंद्र	11	श्रीपुर	15
रामुल	6	श्रीमती	14
रालिक	2	श्रीवन्नम	12
विदुर	7	श्रेणि	5,9
विद्याधर	1	श्वभ	1
विद्याधरी	5	शष्टिदत्त	7
विनियुक्तक	9		
विन्व्यादि	7,12	सगर	7
विश्ववर्मन्	5	सत्याश्रय	12
विषय	11	सनद्यानीक	3
विषयपति	9,11	सन्धिविमहाधिक	9
विषयादुद्धृतपिंड	11	समतट	3
विष्ट	1,9	समुद्रगुप्त	3
विष्णुगोप	3	सर्वपाण्डितपरिहार	11
विष्णुपद	2	सर्वराजकुन्त्रभाष्यप्रत्याय	11
विष्णुवर्धन	7	राहस्य	5
वेङ्कटी	3	सातकर्ण	1
वैवस्वत	8	सान्धिविमहिक	3
व्याघ्रराज	3	सिक्ताविलासिनी	4
व्याल	9	सिद्ध	5,14
		सिन्धु	1,2,7
शक	3,12	सुगत	11
शहानशाहि	3	सुगृहीतनामन्	1
शाहि	3	सुदर्शन	14
शिखिवाहन	14		

सुमेरु	5,6	छदामन्	1
सुराष्ट्र	1,4	छदेव	3
सुविशाख	1	रेवतीदीप	12
सुवर्णसिक्ता	1	रेवा	7,12
सुस्थितवर्मन्	14	रैवतक	4
सूर्यवर्मन्	8		
सुक्ष्मशिव	14	लाट	5,21
सैहलक	3	लिच्छवि	3
सोमान्वय	10	लौहित्य	6,14
सौवीर	1	स्कन्धावार	9,11
स्कन्द	13	स्थली	9
स्कन्दशुभ	4,11	स्थिति (स्मार्त)	9
स्कन्दभट	9	स्वहदस्त	9,11
वज्र	2	स्वामिदत्त	3
वज्रिणीदेवी	11	हरदत्त	15
वत्स	12	हरिपेण	3
वत्सभट्टि	5	हरिवर्मन्	8
वनवासी	12	हर्ष	11,12,14
वरदा	12	हर्ष शुभ	14
वराहदास	7	हस्तावप्र	9
वराहसिंह	13	हस्तिवर्मन्	3
वरुण	4	हृत् यश्चरोह	9
वर्धमानकोटी	11	हिमगिरि	6
वलभी (town)	9	हिमवन	7
वलभी (terrace)	5	हुण	6,14
राष्ट्रिय	1	क्षेमेश्वर	8

APPENDIX.

Portions from Dr. G. Buhler's essay on "Indian Inscriptions and the antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry"

(Copied from the *Indian Antiquary* of 1911 with the kind permission of the Joint Editors)

INTRODUCTION

Indian Epigraphy which since the last fifteen years has received a new impulse, and which thanks to the progress of Sanskrit philology as well as to the perfecting of the methods of multiplying the inscriptions, leads to more certain results than in early times, has already provided us with several important particulars elucidating the literary and religious history of that part of the world which is inhabited by the Brāhmins and which wants a history as such. On the one hand we owe to it particular and very important data which definitely fix the time of prominent authors, as for instance, recently the time of the dramatic poet Rājasekhara, whose pupils and patrons, the kings Mahendrapala and Mahipala ruled during the last decade of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth century of our era, as shown by Mr Fleet and Prof Kielhorn. On the other hand, the comparison of the partly insignificant notices in the inscriptions with the accounts of literary tradition or with the conditions of the present day, permits us to have an occasional peep, in the development of all the types of literature and of all the religious systems a peep whose worth is considerably significant in the absence of really historical details. Such, for instance is the observation that the tradition about the home of several Vedic schools and also of the works belonging to them, is confirmed through the statements in the old land-grants in as much as, these mention not only the names of the donees but their secular and spiritual families. Not less significant for the history of the very important though little regarded in early times, religion of Mahāvira-Vardhamāna is the demonstration gradually regarded feasible, that, his followers, the Nirgranthas or Jains, are mentioned in a number

of inscriptions, which runs on from the beginning of the historical period of India, with but rare interruptions, and that the assertions in their canonical works, about the divisions of the Monk-Schools are made reliable to the most part, through writings of the first century of our era. These hitherto published results are however, only a small part of what the inscriptions may possibly yield to us. An accurate working out and a fuller estimate of the hitherto published materials little in extent though they be will show that one can procure rich instruction from them, in all the departments of Indian Research; and that their results furnish specially sound proof-stones for the theories about the development of Indian intellectual life, theories which the Indologists, build on very weak foundations, compelled as they are by sheer necessity. The following treatise is a small contribution towards the examination of inscriptions in their spirit. Its aim is to establish firmly those results which the inscriptions yield for the history of Indian *Kāvya* or artificial poetry of the court.

The history proper of Indian artificial poetry begins not earlier than in the first half of the seventh century of our era, with the reign of the mighty king Hārshavardhana, who ruled over the whole of Northern India from 606 to 648 A. D. The works of his favourite court-poet Bānabhatta who tried to portray the life of his master and of himself in the incomplete historical novel *Śrī-Harsha-Charita*, and who besides wrote the romance *Kadambari*, and the poem *Chandī-Satak*, and perhaps also the drama *Pārvasī-parinaya*, are the oldest products of the court-poetry, whose composition falls within the narrow limits given above. Before this time there existed no *Kāvya* as such whose age is hitherto determined with some accuracy and certainty or allows itself to be determined with the accessible documents. Only of one work which shows, throughout, the influence of the *Kāvya* style and which contains several sections entirely written in the *Kāvya* style, we mean, of Varāhamihira's metrical Manual of Astrology the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, it can be said with confidence that it is written about the middle of the sixth century; because Varāhamihira begins the calculations in the *Panchasiddhāntikā*, with the year 505 A. D.; and

he is supposed to have died in the year 588 A D according to the statement of one of his commentators. As to when the most celebrated classical poets Kalidasa, Subandhu, Bharavi, Pravarisena, Gunādhya and the collector of verses, Hala-Sivahana lived, we possess no historical evidence. We can only say that the wide spread of their renown is attested for the first half of the seventh century by the mention of their names by Bṛha and in the Aihole-Meguti inscription of 634 A D, as also that some of them like Gunādhya to whose work Subandhu does allude repeatedly, must certainly have belonged to a considerably early period. Besides this, there are anecdotes only poorly attested, as well as sayings of very doubtful worth, and the scanty details contained in the poems themselves, which might serve as points for determining their age, are very difficult to be estimated, because the political and literary history of India during the first five centuries of our era lies very much in obscurity. When the age of the most important poets is so absolutely uncertain it is but natural that the case should be in no way better with the general question of the age of the *Kavya* poetry. In the literature we come across very meagre traces which point to the fact that the artificial poetry was cultivated from earlier times, and to our great regret, even the age of the most important work in which quotations from *Kavyas* occur, we mean, the *Mahābhāṣya*, is in no way, above doubt. Thus it is not improbable that these quotations might be left unheeded as being witnesses, little to be trusted as some of the most important inquirers have already done, and that theories not taking notice of the same, might be put forth, which shift the growth of the artificial poetry to a very late age. Under these circumstances it can be easily seen why I make myself bold to claim some interest for the evidence *based upon the testimony of inscriptions*, in favour of a relatively high antiquity of the artificial poetry.

The materials which the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on the Gupta inscriptions by Mr J F Fleet offers for this inquiry are not insignificant, and comprise a large number of wholly or partly metrical inscriptions, whose dates are certain or at least approximately determinable. The same taken together with some documents

already made known through reliable publications allow us to prove the existence of a *Kāvya* literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of our era, and to show that a great period of literature, which brought into general prominence the style of the poetic school of Vīdarbha or Berar, lies before the middle of the fourth century. It will be seen further on that this conclusion is confirmed by other indications of no doubtful character. Our next and most important work is, however, to inquire how far the samples of the *Kāvya* style contained in the inscriptions agree with the works of the recognised masters of Indian poetic art, and how the same are related to the rules in the manuals of poetics. I therefore take up for purpose of a detailed discussion the following inscriptions.

I. Vatsabhāṭṭi's *Prasasti*.

Vatsabhāṭṭi's composition consists of 44 verses, not to mention the two 'blessings' or *maṅgalas* in prose form at the beginning and at the end. The whole can be divided into sections, as follows:—

1. The *maṅgala* addressed to the Sun in verses 1-3 of which the 1st and the 3rd belong to the type of what is technically called *śīsis* or *śīsirvāda* (blessings), while the 2nd verse falls under the category of *namaskṛiti* or *namaskṛita* (salutation).
2. A poetic description of the guild of the silk-weavers of Daśapura-Mandasor, verses 4-22, in which, descriptions of their early fatherland Lāṭa or Gujarāt, and of their later home Daśapura, are interwoven.
3. A poetic picture of the suzerain Kumāragupta, verse 23.
4. The same of his vassals Viśvavarman and Bandhuvārman, the rulers of Daśapura, verses 24-28.
5. A short description of the temple built by the weavers, verses 29-30.
6. The mention of the date of its construction with a poetic description of the winter season, when the temple was consecrated, verses 31-35.

7 A postscript narrating a restoration of the edifice demolished in parts, with a mention of the date of this event and a description of the season when it took place, verses 36-42

8 A wish that the temple may last for ever, verse 43

9 The name of the poet, verse 44

If one compares these contents of the composition in question with the sample I have presented in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol II pp 86 and ff (i.e. the *Lākhmandal Prāśasti Ep Ind* Vol I p 10), it will be seen without doubt that this composition belongs to that class of *prāśastis* (encomiums or panegyrics), of which the recent epigraphical researches have brought to light such a large number. The composition itself provides us with a clear indication that the poet also wished to have his work called by that name. For verse 44 says—"By the order of the guild and owing to their devotion, was built, this temple of the Sun, and the above was composed, with great troubles, by Vatsabhata".

'The above' (*prāśa*) is an expression which occurs frequently in later inscriptions of this type and which must be supplemented by the word *prāśasti* as Mr Fleet also remarks in the note to this verse. The fact that the actual title of the composition is not mentioned but is only indicated, proves that in Vatsabhata's time there were many such *prāśastis* and that it was a familiar custom in the 5th century, to glorify the erection of temples and other edifices, by means of such occasional compositions.

Another interesting point in the foregoing verse is Vatsabhata's assurance that he composed his work *prajātneṇa* 'with a great effort'. By this he means to say, no doubt, that he utilized with care the best samples and strove to observe very carefully the rules of poetics and metre. This careful study and this effort to do justice to the pretensions of the art of court poetry are to be marked in every verse. The very eagerness with which the author takes advantage of every little circumstance to bring in poetic details and descriptions, shows that he wished to do his best to make his

more instructive would be the attempt to place the most important images and terms of expression side by side with similar ones in the Kāvya and thus to show that quite a number of expressions characteristic of the *Latya* style occurs in Vatsabhatti's *prastā*

Even the praise of the Sun in the *mangala* contains several points of relationship with passages in classical poems which are devoted to the glorification of the same godhood. The first two strophes

1 'May the light giver (*Bhaskara*), the cause of the destruction and origin of the world, protect you, the god whom the host of gods worship, for purpose of their own preservation, the Siddhas (the accomplished), because they strive for higher accomplishments, the *yogins* entirely given to meditation, and having their objects of desire under their control, because they long for liberation, and the sages rich in severe penance, powerful through their cursing as well as favouring, from deep devotion of the heart ! '

2 'An adoration to the Generator (*Sauras*), whom even the zealous Brahman sages knowing the truth, do not fully comprehend, who supports the three worlds with his far reaching rays, whom Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras and men, praise, as he rises, who fulfils the desires of his devotees ! '

comprise briefly the ideas which are met with in the *Puranas*, in the writings of *Sauras*, which identify the Sun with the world spirit, and even in still older works. Amongst the court poets there is one Mayura, in whose *Suryaśataka*, a prayer addressed to the Sun, we have almost every one of the ideas contained in the verses above, repeated and with much the same form of expression. As Vatsabhatti praises the Sun as being the generator and the destroyer of the world, so also Mayūra identifies him, in verse 99, with Brahman, Vishnu and Śiva, the three gods who generate, preserve and destroy the Universe. As the *prastā* speaks of the worship of the Sun and of the prayers offered to him at dawn, so also does the *Suryaśataka* frequently emphasise the idea that men and spiritual beings adore the Sun in the morning, only with this difference that the number of the divine and semi-divine

abovementioned *anta* in *samudranta* (verse 23), and *hanta* (verse 7) so also the altogether meaningless prefixes *prati* and *abhi* in *pratibhati* (verse 3) and *abhiśhhati* (verse 19); so also we meet with quite striking tautologies, e. g. in *dhyānaskāgraparāś* (verse 1), where, however the synonymous words *ekāgra* and *para* may perhaps be supposed to be put together in order to make the idea of the complete merging clearer and more emphatic, but in *tulyopamānāni* (verse 10), it is very difficult even to find an appearance of excuse for the simultaneous use of the two synonymous words. Further, Vatsabhāṭṭi commits offences against grammar for purposes of metre. A slight mistake of the kind is the use of the Atmanepada in *nyavaasita* (verse 15) instead of Parasmaipada, though this may perhaps be excused owing to its similar use in epic poetry and on the ground of [analogous mistake met with in the *kāvyas*. Far worse however, is the use of masculine form *sprīśann=iva* instead of the neuter *sprīśad=iva* (verse 38) which has to agree with the substantive *griham* (verse 37). Mr Fleet of course proposes to write *sprīśatva* but it would not at all suit the metre. Besides with this alteration, the whole construction would not only be changed but broken up into pieces, because then the locatives in verses 39-40 would be altogether hanging in the air. With the text as we have it *samśkāśitam* 'was repaired' (verse 37) is the verb in the principal sentence with which all the following words which are attributes of the time, can be quite rightly connected. If, however we write *sprīśatva*, this itself, then, becomes the principal verb and then we must translate as follows —

37. 'This temple of the Sun with the genetous guild caused to be built up again in all its parts very stately in order to further their renown'

38. The temple, which was exceedingly high glowing white, the resting place of the pure rays of the Sun and the

'Moon at their rise, touched, as it were, the sky, with its charming turrets.'

Here the sentence is complete, and there is no verb with which the following words, 'after five hundred and twenty-nine years had passed, on the second day of the bright half of the lovely month of Tapasya' can be construed. Thus Vatsabhatti cannot be freed from the charge of having used a wrong gender, out of regard for the metre. We may suppose that he might have been conscious of the fault but that he might have consoled himself with the beautiful principle :

म पमपि मयं कुर्याद्वृत्तिभङ्गं विवर्जयेत् ।

according to which the correctness of the metrical form precedes every other consideration.

We can easily believe him as capable of such blunders, for, in the second half of verse 30

यद्गतिं पश्चिमपुरस्य निविष्टकान्तचूडामणिप्रतिसमं नयनाभिराभम् ॥

we come across something worse, a fault in construction. The genitive *paschimpurasya* goes with *Chudamani*, and there is no substantive which is connected with *nivishla*. The grammatically correct form should have been *paschimapura*, but that would not have suited the metre. To the category of poetical absurdities not specially alleged belong verses 7-8, where at first *saramsi* 'the lakes' in general is used, then again *kvachit saramsi* 'the lakes in some places' is used. Further in verses 10-12, the poet first speaks of *grihani* 'the houses,' then again of *anyani* 'other houses', and lastly again of *grihani* 'the houses' in general.

Notwithstanding all these facts, it cannot be denied that Vatsabhatti was a versifier perhaps learned, but clumsy and little gifted. This conclusion appears in no way surprising, if we remember that he never lived at the court of his native place Dāsapura, but was a man of limited means or of moderate circumstances. If Vatsabhatti would have been able to boast of a place at the court of Bandhuvārmān or even of a

mere connection with him, he would not have failed to let posterity know of the same or at least to praise his master as a patron of poetry. As nothing like this is done by him, we would not be wrong in supposing that he was a private man of learning, of the type found in all Indian cities, that he had specially studied the worldly lores and that he was not ashamed of making money by composing a piece of poetry occasionally, even when such a low class of people as the silk-weavers required his services.

Thus it is quite evident that the points of affinity with the classical literature, which are presented by a composition originating from such a man as Vatsabhattacharya are possessed of great significance. When we know that Vatsabhattacharya was not an original genius, but only a man who sought, with great effort in the sweat of his brow, to compile a medley of the classical modes of expression and exerted himself, though with little success, to play variations on the same or to improve upon them, then the supposition cannot be gainsaid that in the fifth century, there existed a *kavya* literature quite similar to that known to us already. This conclusion is still further confirmed by the fact that all the above *prasastis* in Mr. Fleet's volume which were composed between the year 400 and the year of Vatsabhattacharya's, present the same close relations to the *kavyas* known to us. We agree that a large number of these is no doubt of an insignificant character, and is written by private men of learning of the province as for instance, the Dasapura *prasasti*, but there still remains the stamp of the *kavya* on them. One of the few pieces which shows a higher talent, is Mr. Fleet's Number VI. Although the first two verses are very much distorted, still it can be unmistakably seen that it is written in a high style and by a real poet. The fragments of the first verse.—

यदन्तर्यामिणिरकाममुषाम * ~ ~ ~

* * * *—इति चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमनुतम् ॥

remind us of Ganadāsa's words in Kālidāsa's *Malavikāgnimitra*:
 महत्सल्लु पुरुषाधिकारमिदं ज्योतिः ॥ In the conclusion which is
 better preserved, the author gives his name and applies to
 himself the title of *kavi*. It runs thus:—

तस्य राजाधिराजैर्परिचिन्त्योज्ज्वलकर्मणः ।
 भन्वयप्राप्तसाविष्यो व्यापृतः सान्धिविग्रहः ॥ ३ ॥
 कौत्सः शाव इति क्यातो वीरसेनः कुलास्यया ।
 शब्दार्थन्यायलोकज्ञः कविः पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥ ४ ॥
 कृत्स्नपृष्ठीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः ।
 भस्त्रया भगवतः शम्भोर्गुहामेतामकारयत् ॥ ५ ॥

3-4. 'Virsenā, known by the family name of Kautsa Sāba, well-versed in grammar, politics, logic and the course of the world, a poet, living in Pātaliputra, who served as a hereditary minister to the sage-like king of kings, who performed deeds inconceivable and bright.'

5. 'Came here (to Udayagiri) with the king himself, who intended to conquer the whole earth and caused this cave to be constructed, out of devotion for the divine Sambhu.'

The poet Virasena lived about the year 400 A. D.; for as Mr. Fleet's No. III shows, Chandragupta II, had conquered the province of Mālvā in the middle of the Gupta year 82, *i. e.* 400/1 or 401/2 A. D. Thus the invasion, on which Virasena accompanied his master, can be undertaken not later than (but rather earlier) in the beginning of the year mentioned above. At this time, Virasena, as the verses above state, was the minister of foreign affairs. That a minister occupied himself with poetry leads us to conjecture that Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya looked upon the Muses with favour or that poetry had at least the right to appear at Court.

II. Harishena's panegyric of Samudragupta.

THE second one of the inscriptions which we are going to examine, Harishena's panegyric of Samudragupta, presents many points of close touch with the *Kāvya* literature preserved and proves in the clearest manner that court-poetry was a subject most assiduously cultivated in the fourth century of our era. Harishena's panegyric covered originally thirty lines and a half and consisted of eight verses in the beginning, a long prose-passage and a concluding verse. All the three parts together form one single, gigantic sentence. Unfortunately, the four lines in the beginning containing two verses have been entirely lost and lines 4-16 have been distorted more or less, so that we have only one of the introductory verses, in a complete form. The subscription of the author in ll. 31-33 informs us that not only the metrical lines but the whole of the composition is to be regarded as *kāvya*. It is said there:—

' And may this *kāvya*, of the slave of the feet of this same lord, whose intelligence was expanded by the favour of dwelling near (His Majesty), the minister of foreign affairs, and the counsellor of the royal prince, the great General Harishena, the son of Khādyaatapākika and of the great General Dhruvabhūti, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings. The accomplishment of the same was, however, looked after by the great General Tilakabhata who meditates with reverence on the feet of his lord '

Thus, this little composition of Harishena belongs to that class of mixed compositions which in poetics are frequently called by the name *champu*, while the oldest works preserved for us, such as *Vāsavadattā*, *Kādambarī*, *Harshacharita* and *Dakṣaśarmacharita* are called by the name of *ākhyāyikā* or *kathā*, ' a narration, a romance '. It possesses a certain relationship with the descriptions of kings, which are found in the *ākhyāyikās*. Similar to these last, the description, in the

ture only the *Bharatavākya* at the end of the *Vikramorvaśi*, where Kālidāsa pray- that this antagonism should cease.—

परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

‘ May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, which is to be found only rarely in one place, bring good luck to the good ! ’

Further, the author mentions in verse 8, which will be given yet more fully later on, amongst the high excellences of the king, शशिकरशुचयः कीर्तयः सप्रतानाः ‘ the fame sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon ’ and thus bears evidence to his being aware of the well-known idea of the *kīrtivallī* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils. With this may be compared in the field of classical literature, *Sārngadhara-paddhati*, No. 1235

A third most favourite poetic representation of fame is met with in the second compound in 1, 23, referring to Samudragupta.—‘ Whose fame arising from the re-establishment of many fallen kingdoms and of many extinguished royal races, is tired by its journey through the three worlds. ’ Hemachandra also in the *prāsaśi* to his grammar, verse 29, similarly speaks of the want of rest for his master’s fame.

यदेर्मण्डलकुण्डलीकृतधनुर्दन्देन सिद्धाधिप

कृतिं वैरिकुलावया दलस्कुण्डावदातं यशः ।

भ्रान्त्वा श्रीणि जगन्ति खेदविवशं सन्मालवीनां व्यधा-

दापाण्डो स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवास्थितिम् ॥

‘ With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round, you won, oh king Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmine; being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested

is unnecessary, and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes, how the old Chandragupta, in the presence of his sons, each of whom hoped to have the highest fortune, and of his court household who were afraid lest the choice may fall on an unworthy person, turns round to his favourite son. This verse is one of the best productions the Indians have given us, in the domain of miniature-portraits, which is their forte. This very example would also illustrate Harishena's special care for the choice and arrangement of words, a qualification which can be easily seen even in other parts of the composition, both metrical and prose. In the prose part, there are inserted between the long compounds, at definite intervals shorter phrases, in order to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. In the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time.

In Harishena's poetical imagery, we come across many conceptions that are very familiarly met with in the *Āyā* literature. Some of these have been already dwelt upon, while discussing the concluding part of his composition. We now notice a few others. The fragment of verse 3 says:—

'The order of the possessor of the true meaning of the *Sāstras* whose heart is highly happy at the association with the good,—multiplied as its power is, by the virtues of the wise—puts an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity and thus enjoys in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endures in many poems.'

Here we have the exceedingly favourite allegory of the fight or discord between the Muse and the Goddess of wealth, which condemns the poet and the learned man to poverty and makes the rich incapable of service to Wisdom and Art. By way of comparison, I quote here from the classical litera-

ture only the *Bharatavakya* at the end of the *Vikramorvasi*, where Kālidāsa prays that this antagonism should cease —

परस्परविरोधिन्वोरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्मृतयेस्तु सदा सताम् ॥

' May the union of the mutually hostile goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, which is to be found only rarely in one place bring good luck to the good !

Further, the author mentions in verse 8, which will be given yet more fully later on, amongst the high excellences of the king, शशिकरशुचयः कीर्तयः सम्रतानाः 'the fame sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon' and thus bears evidence to his being aware of the well known idea of the *kṛivallī* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils. With this may be compared in the field of classical literature, *Śārngadhara-paddhati*, No 1235

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यद्देर्मण्डलकुण्डलीकृतधनुर्दन्देन सिद्धधिप

क्रीतं वैरिकुलात्त्रया दलकुण्डावदातं यशः ।

भ्रात्वा श्रीणि जगन्ति स्त्रेदविवशं तन्मालर्चनां व्यधा-

दापाण्डं स्तनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेवास्थितिम् ॥

' With the bow bent into a circular form by your arm stretched round you won, oh king Siddha, your fame that shines whitely like the blooming flower of the jasmine, being rendered helpless through the exhaustion of wandering through the three worlds, that your fame has at last rested

itself on the palid, round breasts and the white cheeks of the Mālava women.'

In l. 25, again, we have quite an original conception which is meant to illustrate how far Samudragupta's glory obscured that of all his rivals. The poet there praises Samudragupta as a ruler 'who, in consequence of the overflow of his many virtues elevated through hundreds of good works, wiped off with his feet the fame of other kings'

The idea seems to be that the leaves, on which the fame of other kings is written, lie before Samudragupta. The flow of his virtues streams over them, and he is only required to stir his foot, to obliterate the praises of the rulers of antiquity. I cannot point out anything in literature, which exactly corresponds to this. Nevertheless, it cannot escape the attention of any one, that the conception quite fits in with the character of the style of court-poets.

In the next line (26), we meet with a comparison which occurs frequently in the epics and which is used in later times by almost every classical poet and in every *grāṁśī*—where Samudragupta is celebrated as a king 'who resembles Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and Antaka, i. e., the guardian-gods of the four directions'. Equally favourite is the immediately following *Upamā*: 'who puts to shame the preceptor of gods by his sharp and subtle understanding, and Tumburu, Nārada and others, by his lovely performances of music.' About the comparison of the king with Brihaspati, we have spoken above on page 144. As for the statement that Samudragupta was a better musician than the well-known Gandharva and the sage of gods who invented the *vinā*, an explanation is furnished by the coins, as Mr. Fleet has pertinently remarked, on which Samudragupta is represented as a lute-player. For the last climax of hyperbolical representation, we also meet with analogies in the *kāvyas*. When Harishchandra says in l. 27-28, that his master is 'a god dwelling in this world, whose many

marvellous and noble deeds deserve to be praised for a very long time and who is a man only in that he performs the acts necessary according to the conventions of the world,' we are reminded, in the first place, of Bāṇa's description of his patron, Harsha (*Sri Harshacharita*, p. 207-208), where his deeds have been put on a level with those of Indra Prajāpati, Vishnu and Śiva, and he himself has been identified with these gods. A still more important parallel is provided by the statements of the Prakrit poet, Vākpati, about Yaśovarman of Kanauj (*Gaudavaho*, verses 167-181), according to which, the king is an incarnation of Bālaka-Hari or Vishnu. As is to be expected of a poet of the eighth century, Vākpati expresses the idea with a greater elaboration of details.

Many more points of relationship with the *kāvya* literature can be discovered in the individual expressions of our *prasaśti*. It would suffice if I only point to *uzaguhya* (for *ās'ishya*), *bhāva-śrīṣṇa*, *mīlān ānana*, *sneha-vyālutīla*, *bāshpa-guru* (all in verse 4), *adbhut-sābhinnā-harsha* (verse 5), *uchchāfakāra*, *toṣ-uttunga*, *sneha-phulla*, and the frequent use of *sphula*. The parallel passages given in both the Petersburg lexicons spare me the trouble of giving here many new quotations. Whoever is familiar with the diction of the *kāvyas*, will not require any special proof, but will at once recognise the affinity of these and other modes of expression to those used by classical poets.

Now, we have to notice a number of cases, especially in the prosepart, where Harishena obviously tried to surpass his rivals in the composition of *prasaśtis*. To this category belong most of the long compounds in lines 17-24, in which the closing part especially comes now and then as a surprise and deviates very much from the usual track. Thus, in line 21, for instance, instead of saying that Samudragupta had acquired great power through the forcible extinction of many kings of Āryāvarta, Harishena represents his master as a prince 'who was great through, his power which expanded itself through the forcible extinction of many kings of the land of the Āryas'

reciter and the hearer, resting pauses between long compounds, by inserting shorter words or phrases made up of shorter words, some of which are not unlike those inserted for the same purpose in the classical samples of works written in high prose. Of the *Alamkaras* the poets make use of 'Alliteration, *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā*, and *Rūpaka* and at any rate an attempt at *S'lesha*. As compared with what we find in the classical works, the figures of speech are, in the first place, used much more rarely, and in the second place, are executed with much less care and skill. Sometimes these rise not at all or only very little, above the level of what is found in the epics. So also we are reminded of the language of the epics by the several grammatical forms which are used by the author of the *prāsaṣṭi* of the Sudarśana lake. It appears very probable that in the second century there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar inscription was only an obscure provincial writer.

Side by side with works written in high prose there existed, as is to be expected, and as is distinctly shown by the Girnar *prāsaṣṭi*, metrical works whose form essentially agreed with the rules laid down, in the oldest available manuals, for the Vaidarbha style. Further this accordance with rules naturally points to the existence of an *Alamkāra-śāstra* or some theory of the poetic art. Both these kinds of composition were equally esteemed with the Brahmanic sciences, at the courts of Indian princes, and in spite of the lacunae in the Girnar inscriptions it is hardly to be doubted that a personal occupation with poesy is ascribed to the king and great Satrap Rudradāman, the grandson of a non-Aryan governor of an Indo-Scythian ruler. Be this right or not, it is in any case evident that the poesy resembling the classical *Kāvya* in essential features, enjoyed the royal favour, in the second century as it did in later times and that it was cultivated at the Indian Courts. In no case can it be said that the Brahmanic science and literature was extinguished by the invasions and the rule of the barbarian foreigners. If we suppose that the *prāsaṣṭi*

informs us of pure historical truth, then its contents clearly show that the life of literature in the second century must have attained to such a richness and strength as to win over to itself even the descendants of barbarians. Thus it naturally follows that the *Kāvya* could not have been a new discovery in the second century, but it must have had a long previous history which went back to the times when Aryan princes were exclusive rulers of India. For this reason it would not be certainly going too far to assert that the Girdār prafasti makes probable the existence of the *kāvya* style, even in the first century.

A very large number of *prafastis* go to prove that in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the *kāvya* literature was in its full bloom and that the *kāvya* did not at all differ from those handed down to us. The second independent Gupta King whose reign, no doubt covered the greatest part of the second half of the fourth century, Samudragupta Parākramānka, was himself a poet, and received from his admirers the title *havi-rāja*. He supported several poets who at the same time were Pandits and put an end as far as he could, to the old antagonism between the Muses and Plutus. His courtiers followed the example of their master, and the panegyric by Harishena the minister of foreign affairs and the counsellor of the prince royal shows that Samudragupta had at least one poet, of whom he had no reason to be ashamed.

Harishena's *kāvya* is in every respect an artistically finished little work, which places its author in a line with Kālidāsa and Dandin. Its style is that of the Vidyabhī School. The very fact that Harishena himself belonged to the north-east of India shows that, there must have preceded this time, a period of literature, during which, poets from Benar in northern Deccan, accomplished much and brought their particular taste to a high repute. Probably this full bloom of the Vidyabhī as will fall in the third century or at the latest in the beginning of the fourth century. Under Samudragupta's successors, Chandragupta II Vikramāditya poetry must have similarly

reciter and the hearer, resting pauses between long compounds, by inserting shorter words or phrases made up of shorter words, some of which are not unlike those inserted for the same purpose in the classical samples of works written in high prose. Of the *Alamkaras* the poets make use of 'Alliteration, *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā*, and *Rūpaka* and at any rate an attempt at *S'lesha*. As compared with what we find in the classical works, the figures of speech are, in the first place, used much more rarely, and in the second place, are executed with much less care and skill. Sometimes these rise not at all or only very little, above the level of what is found in the epics. So also we are reminded of the language of the epics by the several grammatical forms which are used by the author of the *prāsaṣṭi* of the Sudarśana lake. It appears very probable that in the second century there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar inscription was only an obscure provincial writer.

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enjoyed the patronage of the court, in as much as even the king's minister took to himself the title of a *kavi*. The little proof of his art, handed down to us discloses at any rate great cleverness, if not a real poetic talent as such. Even this little composition is written in the style of the Vidarbha School. The same holds good of the *prasaṅgi* of the time of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. The works in existence are however, most insignificant, a phenomenon which is satisfactorily explained by the fact that they were all written by provincial writers. In the second half of the fourth century, in Vatsabhattacharya's *prasaṅgi* we see traces of the existence of the school of the Gaudas, the poets of eastern India. This work should be called rather the exercise of a scholar who busied himself with the study of the *Kāvya* literatures than a product of an actual poet. We can see therein that its author had studied the *Kāvya*s and Rhetorics, but that, in spite of all the troubles he took to produce a real *kāvya* he possessed little of inborn talent. Small offences against good taste, such as the use of expletives and tautologous words, are more frequently met with. In one place the author is led to forget one of the most elementary rules of Grammar, by the exigencies of metre; in another place in his zeal to form long compounds, he is tempted to disregard the rule, always observed by good writers, according to which the weak pause can never come at the end of a half verse. In a third place, he jumbles together two ideas in a manner the least permissible; and his attempt to bring out a new comparison between the clouds and the houses leads in no way to a happy result.

These defects in Vatsabhattacharya's *prasaṅgi* make it the more important for the historian of literature, in as much as they bear testimony to the fact that everything worthy of attention in the *prasaṅgi* is gathered from the literature of his time and compiled into a whole. Thus, on the one hand, we are assured of the fact that about the year 472 A. D. there was a rich *kāvya* literature in existence; and on the other hand, greater weight is gained by the points of accordance with the work-

handed down to us, which the *prāśasti* presents. It has been already pointed out above that verse 10 of the *prāśasti* only repeats, for the most part, the comparison contained in verse 65 of *Meghadūta*, with some new points added in a very forced way; while the remaining points contained in that verse of Kālidāsa, find themselves repeated in verse 11 of the *prāśasti*. Further it is to be noted that Vatsabhātti, like Kālidāsa, shows a special predilection for the word *subhuga*, and that he while describing the king Bandhuvārman, plays upon his name just in the same way as Kālidāsa does with the names of Rāghu, whom he describes in the beginning of Sarga XVIII of *Rāghuvamśa*. These facts make the conjecture more probable, that Vatsabhātti knew and made use of the works of Kālidāsa. The same view is advocated by Prof. Kielhorn in a publication, "The Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 529 (472 A. D.) and Kālidāsa's *Ritusamhāra*, Göttingen 1890". He reads in verse 31 of the *prāśasti* रामासनायमवनेदरभास्कराङ्गु—बहिप्रतापसुभगे instead of ° अवने द्र °, and shows that the verse sufficiently agrees with *Ritusamhāra* V. 203, in both words and thoughts, as there are only two new points added. The truth of his assertion that v. 31 of the *prāśasti* is an imitation of *Ritusamhāra* v. 2. 3, appears to me quite undeniable. If we may believe in the tradition which ascribes *Ritusamhāra* to the author of *Meghadūta*, then the point overlooked by me, which Prof. Kielhorn has made out, strengthens the probability of the supposition that Kālidāsa lived before 472 A.D. which is very significant. In that case it will have to be assumed that Vatsabhātti knew the *Ritusamhāra* also.

One of these conclusions—the statement that the Indian artificial poetry had developed itself not after but before the beginning of our era,—is confirmed also by references in a literary work which is by all means old. Whosoever goes through the collection of poetic citations from the *Mahābhāṣya*, which Prof. Kielhorn has brought together (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 326) cannot but see that the *Kāvya* prospered in Pāṇini's times. many of the verses exhibit metres char-

characteristic of the artificial poetry, such as *malati* :

Praharshini and *Vasantatilaka* These verses as well many others See Kielhorn's edition of the *Prashya* Vol. I. 426, 435. II. : 119; III. : 143, 338 in the heroic Anushtubha-S'loka agree in point of as well as the mode of expressions, not with epic but with the court *Kāvya*. The composition of *Mahabhashya* will have to be placed some time before first century after most probably 150 B. C.) A further for the early growth of the Sanskrit *Kāvya* is provided : Buddhist work, the *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghoṣa Chinese translation was prepared between 414-420 A. The work is not a *Mahākāvya* in name only, but is written the *Kāvya* style. Aśvaghoṣa is said to be a of Kanishka (78 A. D). Even if we lay aside the question of his date and take our stand on the date of Chinese translation of the work, which is beyond the work would still possess great worth from the point view of the history of literature. The composition of work cannot be placed in any case later than 350-400 A. Even the bare fact that a Buddhist work, as early as thought of writing the Legend of the Buddha, the rules of the poetic art, establishes a great popularity the Brahmanical artificial poetry and confirms arrived at, above by the analysis of Harishena's A thorough examination of the *Buddhacharita*, and a vision of its style with that of the older *Kāvya* and with rules of the oldest manual of Rhetorics will without lead to more definite and more important results. If we the scope of our work to the epics we will be able to quite a complete picture of the gradual growth of poetry. Such investigations of which a beginning has made especially in the works of Prof. Jacobi, outside the limit of this essay whose only aim is to point in a general way, the significance of the study of the ions for the *Kāvya* literature